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Croatian, Herceg-Bosna Officials at U.S. Talks

LD2602190794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Croatian-U.S. talks are being held in Washington. The special envoy of President Clinton, Ambassador Charles Redman, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith, and experts of the U.S. Government have had a meeting in the State Department with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic; Kresimir Zubak, president of the presidential council of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna; and Mile Akmadzic, minister of international relations [of Herceg-Bosna]. Also present were ambassadors Sarcevic [not further identified] and [Mario] Nobilo.

According to initial reports, the United States has expressed great interest in the implementation of the agreement between the Croats and the Muslims both on a federal state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and on a confederation with Croatia. U.S. Vice President Al Gore and Secretary of State Warren Christopher are showing great interest.

A tripartite meeting has been scheduled for 1830 Central European Time at which, in addition to the representatives of the Croatian and Muslim sides, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Peter Tarnoff, an official in the State Department, will take part. After this half-hour meeting the delegations will have talks. These will be led by Minister Granic, [Bosnian] Prime Minister Silajdzic, and Ambassador Redman.

'Diplomats' Comment on Chances

LD2802133294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 28 Feb 94

["Poo!" item by Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Diplomats in Belgrade are sceptical on Monday of the chance of Bosnian Moslems and Croats reaching agreement at their talks in Washington to form a union and then a confederation with neighbouring Croatia, feeling that any idea imposed from outside is rather difficult of concretisation. The United States, on the other hand, is confident that the plan is ideal and that it has finally hit upon a simple solution for Bosnia.

The latest analyses made in Zagreb, however, seem to indicate that the U.S. solution is far from being simple. Zagreb's acceding in the U.S. plan is being seen as a Croatian effort to get out from under U.N. pressure. Furthermore, diplomats in Belgrade point out, any solution devised at the expense of a third side—in this case, Bosnian Serbs—is bound to fail.

This view is shared by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, who believes that the U.S. plan is acceptable only if it has no ulterior motive other than lasting peace in Bosnia.

The Washington talks are interesting also from another aspect—that of the United States' former support for Bosnian Moslems. Washington's idea to unite the Moslems and Croats denotes its reluctance to permit the creation of an Islamic state in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Any future U.S. support for the Moslems must be regarded only in the context of their unification with the Croats, it is being heard in Belgrade.

In any case, one thing is clear—both the Moslems and the Croats have an interest at this time in falling in with the U.S. plan. However, during the two years of war, the two sides have signed and then ignored a host of different agreements, always running true to form of saying one thing, doing another and plotting a third.

NATO's Woerner Comments on B-H Air Incident

AU2802184394 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1806 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by Udo van Kampen in Brussels—live]

[Text] [Van Kampen] Mr. Woerner, thank you very much for coming to this live cast. My first question to you: Why did these attacks take place just now?

[Woerner] That is quite simple: This was the first violation of the no-fly zone by area planes [Flaechenflugzeuge], which we have noticed throughout the year that have been carrying out this operation. We announced that we would act, or rather had to act, after we had issued warnings because we want this no-fly zone to be respected. In addition, our pilots were able to notice that these combat planes were in the process of dropping bombs—that is, fighting against targets on the ground.

[Van Kampen] Is there not the danger that the conflict will escalate now?

[Woerner] I think the opposite will happen. One will learn to take NATO seriously, and one will learn to respect the no-fly zone and also to take other UN resolutions seriously, too. That means, I rather suspect, that the entire matter will lead to a calming down of the situation than to the opposite.

[Van Kampen] What happens if the Serbs retaliate? There are already reports that towns like Tuzla, for instance, are being attacked more intensively now.

[Woerner] I think there is no connection between the two events. Tuzla has been attacked repeatedly in the past few days. In addition, so far none of the three parties has claimed the planes. It would be very strange behavior if they were to retaliate. I do not think that this is going to happen because the entire matter is an operation that is fully covered by the United Nations. As I have heard, even the Russians have rather supported this action.

[Van Kampen] Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary General.

Woerner on NATO 'Turning Point'

AU2802190694 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1825 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by Udo van Kampen in Brussels on 28 February—recorded]

[Text] [Van Kampen] Would you say that today's combat action was a turning point in NATO's history?

[Woerner] In NATO's history—yes, of course. It was the very first combat action. In addition, it was a combat action not to defend one's own territory against a threat but, if you like, out-of-area—that is, beyond our normal alliance territory. However, this operation has nothing to do—at least not directly—with the other tasks that we have set ourselves in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is an operation to enforce the no-fly zone.

Apart from that, there are other operations—for example, to enforce this exclusion zone [Ausschlusszone]—and I think that one should beware of general judgments. In any case, it makes it clear that NATO is now confronted with a completely new task, which it is fulfilling successfully: crisis management and the enforcement of UN peacemaking measures.

NATO Official on Downing of Planes in B-H

AU2802185394 Paris AFP in English 1841 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By Olivier Baube]

[Excerpt] Naples, Italy, Feb 28 (AFP)—U.S. warplanes shot down four Bosnian Serb planes attacking Moslem positions in Bosnia early Monday, marking the first such NATO military intervention in the two-year Bosnian war.

"We did what we said we would do," said Admiral James Boorda, the commander of the allied forces southern Europe command, who authorised the downing of the four Super Galeb Bosnian Serb planes over central Bosnia at 0548 GMT. "If it was a test, I think we passed the quiz."

Boorda said the Serb aircraft were shot down shortly after NATO warplanes on a reconnaissance mission detected them carrying out bombing raids in the region and reportedly hitting a hospital and fuel depot.

Two other planes involved in the raid, which apparently was aimed at a weapons factory under Moslem control in Novi Travnik, were not hit and returned to their base in the northwestern Bosnian town of Banja Luka, UN officials said.

Boorda said he gave the two U.S. Flying Falcons the go-ahead to fire after the Galeb pilots ignored two warnings "to land or be engaged." He said the US jets fired six missiles before returning safely to their base in Aviano, Italy.

He said the Serb attack "was clearly the first time that we have seen fixed-wing aircraft flying over Bosnia since the no-fly zone has been enforced." Previously, only helicopters had violated the UN no-flight ban launched in April 1993, he said, adding that he hoped Monday's violation "will be the final such incident in a tragic war."

He warned, however, that any further violations "will simply not be tolerated." [passage omitted]

Croatia's Tudjman Visits, Meets With Berisha

Comments on B-H Air Clash Noted

AU2802170194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] [Announcer] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman arrived in our country today. Both delegations held talks, stressing that there are sound bases for bilateral cooperation. Berisha and Tudjman commented on today's attack against Serbian planes. For more details, let us hear the report prepared on this occasion:

[Koleci] At the invitation of President Berisha, Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, arrived in Tirana today, heading a Croatian delegation. He is accompanied by Croatian Economy Minister Nadan Vidosevic, Tourism Minister Niko Bulic, and Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader.

Berisha considered the visit by the Croatian president to be another possibility to contribute not only to bilateral cooperation but to peace in the region as well. Meanwhile, the Croatian president assessed the time of this visit as very important for events in southeast Europe.

At Rinas airport the high-level Croatian personalities were received by President Berisha, Malasi and Vukaj, People's Assembly Presidency deputy chairmen, Deputy Prime Minister Kopliku, Foreign Minister Serreqi, etc. President Tudjman also shook hands with the diplomatic corps accredited in Tirana.

Berisha and Tudjman held a special 30-minute meeting at the Presidency. Later they continued with talks between both delegations. After the end of these talks, both presidents spoke to correspondents:

[Begin Berisha recording] With President Tudjman, we discussed the development of friendly relations between Albania and Croatia to find a sound and all-round basis to develop these relations, and I am convinced that the visit of President Tudjman is a real contribution in this direction. The cooperation between Albania and Croatia is at the same time a contribution to regional cooperation. It assumes great values in the future in the framework of a broad regional integration. [end recording]

[Koleci] The visit of the Croatian delegation in Albania, Mr. Tudjman declared, and the talks held with the Albanian delegation will serve to promote bilateral ties and more successful common efforts for a commitment by the international community to intervene in our region. During the talks, we found complete understanding.

Berisha and Tudjman commented on today's act by NATO—the downing of four Serbian planes which violated the UN flight embargo on military planes in Bosnia.

[Begin Berisha recording] We consider the NATO response to the Serbian aggressor in the (?bosom) of Bosnia to be legitimate and very important. We think that the courage and bravery of the U.S. pilots will accelerate peace and stability in the region. [end recording]

[Koleci] Mr. Tudjman assessed this act as a sign and signal that the international community will continue efforts to solve the crisis in Bosnia and create conditions for peace in the region.

Wishing for a more concrete pronouncement, I asked Mr. Tudjman how he would assess today's act, and he said: It is an act of determination of the superiority of the international community and Europe to oppose the Serbian aggressor, but also to put barriers on Russian intervention in the Balkans.

This afternoon the Croatian president and the delegation accompanying him will meet Prime Minister Meksi and Parliament Chairman Pjeter Arbnori.

Further on Leaders' Comments

LD2802174694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The high level Croatian-Albanian talks that were held in Tirana in the light of the implementation of the UN resolution on the downing of Serb planes in the Bosnian sky. [sentence as heard] The two sides were led by Presidents Franjo Tudjman and Sali Berisha. Andjelko Perincic reporting:

[Perincic] Addressing reporters after the talks, the Albanian president said the attack today by NATO aircraft was an important action and that the U.S. pilots' courage will contribute to peace and stability. He reiterated the well-known Albanian position that the Serbs were the only aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Commenting on the implementation of the UN resolution whereby force can be used against the Serb planes, Croatian President Tudjman said that this action showed:

[Begin Tudjman recording] Resolve by the main European states and the main world superpower, the United States, to oppose the Serb aggression and, I would also say, Russian interference in the Balkans. [end recording]

[Perincic] Both presidents said that existing cooperation between Croatia and Albania could be significantly intensified and improved. The Albanian president believes that this meeting could provide an impetus for improved cooperation, and our head of state said that their good relations could influence efforts by international circles to establish peace in this part of Europe. [passage omitted]

President Tudjman is now expected to hold talks in his temporary residence in Albania with Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi and Parliament Speaker Pjeter Arbnori. Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo

Sanader and Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi will also hold talks. [passage omitted]

Mutual Cooperation, Kosovo Discussed

AU2802192294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Official talks between Albanian President Sali Berisha and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman were held at the Presidency today. Both presidents assessed the importance of this meeting both at the bilateral and the international level. They expressed the opinion that all possibilities exist between our two countries to strengthen the economic cooperation with reciprocal profit, which can include various fields. The signing of cooperation agreements in tourism, the petroleum industry, and the cooperation between our universities and that of Zagreb mark the first steps in this direction. However, this cooperation can be extended in other fields, such as in agriculture, energy, education, culture, and more. In this context, it is indispensable to create a judicial cadre between both our governments.

While treating the situation in the region, both counterparts hailed the NATO decision on Bosnia as a deserved response to the Serb aggressor, something that contributes to reaching a solution for the conflict there.

I assess your efforts, President Berisha said to President Tudjman, and I think that the creation of a Croat-Bosnian federation or confederation, about which talks are being held in Washington, would bring peace closer and assist in the long-term stability of the region. In this framework, I consider a solution to the problem of Kosova as indispensable. We estimate that, without the solution of this problem, there can be no solution to the crisis in the Balkans. That is why we request that the embargo on Serbia should be related to the solution of the problem of Kosova. We stress that this solution does not mean a change of borders through force, but a guarantee of the freedoms and rights of Albanians in conformity with the Helsinki Act.

President Tudjman said that Croatia is directly interested in stopping the conflict and is making all efforts in this direction. Croatia hopes for positive results from the agreements signed between the Croats and Muslims in Washington.

Talks With Meksi, Arbnori Reported

AU2802211594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] This afternoon, talks between the Croatian delegation led by President Tudjman and several members of the government cabinet led by Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi were held at the Palace of Brigades this afternoon. It is to the benefit of both our countries to expeditiously put bilateral cooperation on the road to implementation, Croatian President Tudjman pointed out.

Mr. Meksi considers the visit of the Croatian delegation presided by President Tudjman to be important and expressed his conviction that all the conditions exist for passing from the agreements and projects to their practical implementation. Both sides greeted the achievement of an agreement in the fields of petroleum, tourism, education, culture, science, etc.

The Croatian side expressed readiness to offer its experience in the fields of the production of petroleum, chemical fertilizers, the modernization of refineries, the construction of petrol stations, and the buying of electrical energy from our country. It also expressed the desire to set up a cement factory and cooperate in the copper and marble industries, communication, etc. The Albanian side viewed cooperation in these fields with much interest and reciprocal profit.

Mr. Tudjman and Prime Minister Meksi exchanged opinions about the situation in the region as well. They assessed the NATO air attack as a response to the Serbian aggressor and expressed their readiness to contribute to the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori and Messrs. Ali Spahia, Namik Dokle, and Teodor Laco held a joint meeting with President Tudjman.

During the meeting, Mr. Pjeter Arbnori said that the stable states of the region may and should play an important role in Balkan stability. All the states that aspire to democracy and peace should stop the Serbian aggressor. This may be done through dialogue and solidarity with one another. Mr. Arbnori stressed that Albania wants to have good relations with all the regional countries. Croatia is for us a neighboring and friendly country, that is why we want to strengthen bilateral relations and cooperation.

President Tudjman and Mr. Arbnori also focused on the situation in the Balkans, Kosova, and the broader region.

This afternoon, too, Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova and his Croatian counterpart Ivo Sanader had a mutual meeting, at which they expressed ideas about the problems of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], Kosova, and elsewhere. Starova and Sanader analyzed the changes of the situation in the Balkans and determined the attitudes of Albania and Croatia regarding these problems.

Berisha Condemns Serb Closure of Academy

AU2602211494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] The president of the Republic's spokesman reports that President Sali Berisha harshly condemned the decision and considered criminal and barbarous the final act of the Serbian Government against the

Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Kosova. This is an unprecedented escalation in the history of present civilization and in the fight against science, culture, and truth.

With this the Serbian regime testifies once more to its determination to fanatically implement the criminal memorandum of the Academy of Sciences which, drafted on principles of anticivilization and barbarism, sets forth the notions of ethnic cleansing and the erasure of thinking in other nations.

The Serbian circles can close a building, but they can by no means suffocate the thinking and scientific truth of the Albanian world. The act is as antiscientific and illegitimate as it is barbarous.

Berisha Views Reform, Privatization, Rights

AU2502110394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Feb 94

[Report by Aida Shehu from Brussels]

[Text] [Announcer] Let us follow a telephone report by the spokesman of the President's Press and Information Office, who will inform us about the meetings President of the Republic Sali Berisha held in Brussels with high personalities of international institutions.

[Shehu] Yesterday President Berisha held a meeting with members of the European Parliament's Foreign Policy Commission. After the opening speech by the chairman of this commission, Baron Crespau, President Berisha took the floor. He said that 20 months ago the chairman of this parliament received him at this building as a newly elected president. At that time, Albania had elected a democratic government after 65 years. However, the challenge it had to face was enormous. Mr. Klepsch assured me that the solidarity and support of the European Parliament and Community will not be absent, even for Europe's forgotten country, that is, our country. Today, this may seem a bit superfluous to anyone here, but I can assure you that my country has had a history of pure success during this period. For this, the main merit certainly belongs to Albanians who, though under more difficult conditions than others, committed themselves with extraordinary courage to the most painful course of the reforms.

Within two years, they managed, with great efforts and sacrifices, to lay the foundations of a society based on the rule-of-law state and free initiative. However, I would stress that the assistance granted by the European Community has been vital for the victories and development of democracy in Albania. That is why I would like to whole-heartedly thank you for the assistance that you have granted and continue to grant to our country.

President Berisha later briefed the participants on the current situation in Albania and the course of the reform in all fields: economic, institutional, and legislative. Berisha briefly mentioned some figures and statistics. Regarding the economic field, he stressed that inflation has been brought under complete control. It has reduced from 40 percent, which was the monthly increase at the beginning of the reform, to 33 percent in 1993. In a free exchange rate course, our currency is stable and has even gained a lot. The budget deficit has decreased from 60 percent to 10 percent. Prices have been completely liberalized. We have managed the complete privatization of agricultural land and housing units. During one year, more than 100,000 people have been employed in the private sector. Meanwhile, the privatization of medium and small enterprises is proceeding rapidly. Urban transportation has been privatized and we are trying for a large scale privatization of large enterprises, railways, ports, hydroelectric power stations, etc. Albania ended 1993 with the highest economic growth rate in Europe, an increase that can amount to 10 percent. There are some promising beginnings regarding foreign investments.

As for the institutional field, President Berisha stressed that the heritage of the communist regime could not serve as a basis for building a democratic society. The government that emerged from the elections was courageously engaged in a deep institutional reform. Thus, besides the real revival of the government administration on the basis of advanced legislation, we set up an independent judicial power and the Constitutional Court. The infamous secret police were completely dissolved and this service was rebuilt from the very beginning. In coorporation with NATO and its members, we are carrying out a reform of the army. In the same way, the Albanian police force was subject to a deep reform and its staff was reduced by half. Of 18,000 policemen, it now numbers 8,500. The diplomatic sector also had to undergo reform. In general, the institutional reform has been deep and, of course, painful. However, we can say that its first fruits are positive.

Regarding the legislative field, President Berisha said that we think that greater importance should be attached to the fact that today basic human rights and freedoms have become a permanent reality. Thus, freedom of assembly and association has been implemented in the creation of dozens of political parties, associations, and independent organizations. No one in Albania is convicted for their beliefs today. Albania has the greatest number the independent and private newspapers and journals per capita in Europe. Albania is not only a country of religious pluralism, but also of religious tolerance. Albania has adopted the most liberal system of free movement of the people. The freedom of private property is completely guaranteed. The rights and freedoms of an individual are guaranteed in Albania for all citizens, be they of Albanian origin or of minorities. Considering the treatment of minorities, Albania constitutes an example that I think can be followed by other countries as well.

Closing his speech, President Berisha thanked those present and expressed his gratitude for the encouragement the council and the commission gave in their 9 February resolution to bring to the European Parliament the proposals on Albania's associate membership of the European Union as soon as possible. He continued to say that he considered the commission's support for the aspirations of integrating Albania into Europe to be not only very important for Albania, but also a valuable contribution to establishing peace in the Balkans, to encouraging the Europeanization of this turbulent region between West and East, and to achieving stability on our continent.

Berisha later had a long conversation with the members of this commission and answered the participants' many questions.

At 1945 yesterday Berisha had a meeting with European Parliament President Egon Klepsch. To honor President Berisha, Klepsch hosted a dinner after the meeting, attended by the members of the Albanian delegation and many members of the European Parliament.

This morning, President Berisha was invited to a meeting with CNN television. Berisha answered the varied and numerous questions posed to him.

Foreign Ministry 'Shaken' by Hebron Massacre

LD2802183694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic was shaken by the report on the horrific massacre of Palestinian Muslims in Hebron in Israel, says the statement released today by Vit Kurfirst, the ministry's press spokesman .

The ministry emphasizes that it is up to all those who participate in the conflict and up to the whole international community to prevent this tragic development from leading to further escalation of tension and from becoming an insurmountable obstacle to the promising developments in the peace talks so far. The statement voices a hope that all of the involved sides will exercise full responsibility for the lives of other people and will begin speedy and effective talks aimed at a just, lasting, and comprehensive peaceful solution.

Parliamentary Chairman Discusses U.S. Visit

AU2802165694 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 22 Feb 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Jiri Payne by Jaroslav Fiala; place and date not given: "There Are Plenty of Opportunities for Our Exports to the United States"]

[Text] We interviewed Deputy Payne on his recent visit to the United States.

[Fiala] Many people associate your visit to the United States with your remarks about the lists of State Security agents. What, in fact, was the aim of your visit to the United States?

[Payne] I was invited on behalf of U.S. President Clinton and his wife to a traditional prayer breakfast to which people who try to assert certain Christian values are invited. Some are politicians, others are involved in charity work, and so on. Within the framework of this invitation, I tried to use my visit to the United States to hold further meetings in the U.S. Congress and the [State] Department. This is, in essence, in compliance with the idea that we should try to provide more information about the Czech Republic abroad. Each contact of this kind creates a special platform for us. For example, one day it will be necessary to vote on certain issues of fundamental interest to the Czech Republic, so this creates a better setting for us.

[Fiala] Who did you meet in the United States?

[Payne] Within the program arranged for the extra days of my visit, I visited the Security Committee, where a debate was taking place on expanding NATO in the presence of the U.S. ambassador in NATO from Brussels; I met the chairman of the Congress Foreign Affairs Committee, Lee Hamilton; I met the distinguished Senator Lugar, who is known for being very well informed about Central Europe because he deals with this region; and I also met with other members of Congress. I would describe Partnership for Peace and our reaction to it as the main topic we discussed. It was the same at the State Department.

[Fiala] Did you discuss economic issues with anyone?

[Payne] I tried to make use of a few more days on the basis of urgent appeals from our honorary consul in Florida, Alan Becker, to visit this area and meet with business circles who are already doing business in the Czech Republic or are interested in doing business there. I have to say that these meetings were very useful and that, during my talks with our honorary consul and while going over certain data, we came across extensive areas where our business activity could be expanded. It is significant that hundreds of thousands of tonnes of Czech goods pass through the port of Miami, and so it seems that this is really a contact, a place, that is very important for us because of its trade links to Latin America, the United States, and Mexico, and, from this point of view, I think that we should look into the fact that we can single out new opportunities for our exports in this area.

[Fiala] What did you discuss at the meeting with compatriots?

[Payne] We briefed them on the situation in the Czech Republic. Minister Lux briefed them on agriculture, Mr. Kasal on the general work in parliament, and I gave them a rough outline of the basic priorities of our foreign policy, which was the main theme of that evening. Then, we answered a whole series of questions, which were asked quickly one after the other; the atmosphere here was very relaxed.

[Fiala] You mentioned that making contacts and holding talks abroad forms part of your specific idea about foreign policy. Could you be more explicit?

[Payne] I have discussed this with a number of colleagues, and we even view it as one of the priorities of the work of the Chamber of Deputies because at times the situation arises that members of other parliaments have insufficient information about the Czech Republic or they are given somewhat imprecise information. Therefore, we consider this activity to be very important. In this context, I would like to cite the following example: We worked for about a year on formulating the conditions for the approval of the European Agreement in the European Parliament. I had many meetings with European Parliament deputies within the framework of this activity, and the upshot was that the approval was given in just under three weeks, which is quite unique in European history. I have to emphasize that this was due especially to the endeavor of the rapporteur on the European Agreement, Mr. Sakallariou, and others. Apart from this, our Association or European Agreement was approved by such a percentage of votes that everyone voted in favor except, I think, three deputies who abstained and one who was against. In my opinion, this

is the reward of such lobbying. Of course, if the economic, political, and other prerequisites had not been created, we would never have achieved such a result. On the other hand, if they have been created, it is necessary to make the maximum possible use of them.

Weekly Examines Arms Talks With Iran, Syria

AU2802135694 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 8, 21-27 Feb 94 p 5

[Article by Ivan Lamper and Jaroslav Spurny: "Through Tehran Into NATO, and Toward Full Employment"]

[Text] "Finally, we have clear rules of the game. However, this will not protect the Czech arms factories from being scandalized by foreign competitors, who have described the Czech Republic as a 'dealer in death.'" This is how Jan Vlcek, director of the RDP arms consortium, commented on the government bill on the export of military technology. The press published this statement on 28 January 1994. By coincidence, the letter in which Engineer Vlcek, in the name of the RDP Group, asks Minister of Industry Dlouhy for help in obtaining arms export licenses to Iran bears the same date.

This Is Not Your Business

As recently as mid-January, the RDP management vehemently denied any contacts between their company and the Iranian regime. "That is just rumor and gossip. We are sticking to the line of Czech foreign policy," Director Vlcek told RESPEKT at the time. Shortly after that, it became clear that the contrary was true. Documents confirming that Lubomir Soudek, Skoda director general and chairman of the RDP Presidium, had held talks on possible deliveries of surface-to-surface missiles and the modernization of T-72 tanks with Iranian Government officials in Teheran at the beginning of December of last year were published (see RESPEKT No. 3/94 for details). When this fact surfaced, the arms producers kept a cool head. "It is no one's business what negotiations we are conducting, and with whom. If someone wants to make an affair of it, then he should not be surprised if the unemployment rate goes up," Soudek told reporters.

The official reaction was unequivocal: The RDP Group's plan regarding Tehran is doomed to failure because it is impossible to acquire export licenses for military technology to Iran at this time. On 18 January, MLADA FRONTA DNES even quoted an "anonymous source from diplomatic circles," who said: "If Mr. Soudek behaves like this in Iran after the bill on arms exports is passed, his activity could be considered criminal."

Ten days after this statement, Jan Vlcek wrote his letter to the minister of industry, and, within the next 10 days, the said bill passed. Vladimir Dlouhy submitted the arms consortium's request to his three colleagues from the government (the interior minister, defense minister, and foreign minister). According to Engineer Fritzl of the Licensing Office of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, their opinion is awaited. Reportedly, the official rejective stance on military trade with Tehran has not changed. The RDP chiefs are equally committed, however.

An Untrustworthy Man

According to military experts, the only thing the RDP Group can do is to persist. Their most ambitious program—to modernize the T-72 tank in cooperation with French partners—has oriented them, from the very beginning, toward very risky markets. There are about 8,000 [T-72 tanks] in the world that are of Soviet origin. Of these, about half are in the countries of the former Warsaw Pact, and the rest in countries such a Syria, China, Iran, and Iraq. Several pieces are also in NATO states—for instance, the United States has four, but these tanks are antiques to be put on display in museums, and the owners do not want to modernize them.

When Lubomir Soudek and Jan Vlcek established the arms group in the summer of last year, their plans were mainly based on the orders of the Czech Army. It was expected that the RDP Group would use the know-how of the French firm SOFMA while modernizing domestic machines. The Army, however, turned down the offer. According to the officials from the Defense Ministry, economic reasons played their role when the decision was made (the adaptation of one tank costs 45 million korunas [Kc] in RDP prices, which would swallow the whole 1994 Army budget if we wanted to modernize all of the 540 tanks of our Army), as well as personal reasons. "Mr. Vlcek is an untrustworthy man and his personality is unacceptable to us," Defense Ministry Spokesman Zdenek Borkovec says. Minister Baudys is of the same opinion: "The RDP Group director general is suggesting utilizing the capacity of our Army, without ever discussing this subject with the Army. In view of the questionable trading activities of the consortium, I consider the participation of the Czech Army in these projects as quite out of the question."

Partners in the Background

Foreign markets are absolutely not interested in the arms the manufacturer is unable to sell even to the Army in his country. Countries whose reputations are such that no one can openly offer them anything are the only exception. Trade with them may be lucrative, but there is a catch. When they come to light, they mean a scandal for the exporting country. The perseverance with which the RDP Group is pushing for its Iranian contract shows that the management of the consortium decided to take risks. Reportedly, they have already invested Kc10 million in the T-72 modernization program without having moved a single step forward. The efforts to sell "repair lines" to Iran are seen by experts as logical. The experts, having applicable documentation, could, on Vlcek's call, make the first steps toward the conclusion of the main deal: Adjustment of the Iranian T-72's on the basis of French technology and know-how.

"The French partners to the RDP Group play a key role in the intended trade. Their profit would be adequate, but they would bear practically no risk," an official from the Ministry of Industry and Trade Licensing Department told RESPEKT reporters. If the deal fails, nothing will happen. SOFMA has offered its know-how not only to the Czech arms manufacturers. It has successfully sold it to Poland and Slovakia, and negotiations with the Bulgarians are reportedly under way. If Soudek's and Vlcek's RDP obtains the license, SOFMA will get on the Iranian market, something it cannot do for the time being. Only the Czech side bears the risk of the possible scandal.

According to available statements from responsible officials, it seems that the contract with Iran will not be authorized. "The fact is, however, that a very intensive lobby is being established here. They will try to push for their interests as much a possible," Engineer Samek, supreme director of the Licensing Administration, commented on the course of the "Iran case." Information provided to RESPEKT confirms his words indirectly. Apart from Iran, the RDP Group also offered to modernize Syria's "72's." This happened during Director Vlcek's trip to Damascus last summer. Syrian General Hussain Al Ali came to Prague to confirm the deal at the beginning of November. The RDP Group management refused to answer any questions on the matter.

Turkey Suggests Joint Production of F-16 Falcon

AU0103125994 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 94 p 3

[Article by Vaclav Pergl: "Turkey Has Proposed Joint Production of F-16 Falcon Aircraft With the Czech Republic"]

[Text] "We were asked whether we would be able and willing somehow to participate in the production of F-16 Falcon fighter bombers or ground-attack aircraft," Defense Minister Baudys told RUDE PRAVO following his return from Turkey.

"I think," continued the minister, "that if we succeed in finding a common language between the representatives of our industry and the Turkish TAI group, which manufactures these aircraft under the license and management of Lockheed, this could be a very important and considerable boon for our air industry, which I personally very much admire. It would be a pity to miss out on this. Various options for buying were also discussed. Turkey is a major customer of our arms plant in Uhersky Brod. It purchases a considerable number of pistols and is also interested in some other products." The minister did not specify which ones, however, "because the market in military materials is known for its tough competition." He confirmed that the Tamara radar system was not discussed.

Deputy Defense Minister M. Kalousek said at a news conference this week that "no consideration is being given this year to purchasing modern military equipment for the Czech Army." He said that it is impossible to say how much money will be released up to the year 2005 for the modernization of the Air Force. "The project for a multipurpose aircraft from Aero Vodochody is a viable scheme," said Kalousek.

More on Talks Between Klaus, Polish Official

LD2802202994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus received Jozef Oleksy, speaker of the Polish Sejm, at the government office today. Our correspondent David Stahlavsky reports:

[Stahlavsky] The Polish guest regards the visit as a further step in the process of strengthening goodneighborly relations between our two countries. Jozef Oleksy visited Bratislava last week.

The agenda of his talks with the prime minister, the foreign minister, and President Vaclav Havel later in the afternoon included European issues and other issues important for both Poland and the Czech Republic.

At a joint news conference, the speaker of the Polish Sejm described his talks with Klaus as businesslike and interesting. They were talks that brought a pragmatic contribution to relations between Poland and the Czech Republic. He focused, in particular, on reforms in both states. Welcoming the outcome of the talks, Oleksy said:

[Begin Oleksy recording, in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] The prime minister's statement that relations with Poland are an absolute priority for the Czech Republic was of enormous importance for me. I fully share the prime minister's view that Western Europe has much to learn from our two countries. We said that Europe needed a broad and fresh dialogue and that no institutions could substitute for this dialogue. [end recording]

Speaking about the visit of the Polish Sejm speaker, Klaus said the following:

[Begin Klaus recording] I would like to say, in fact, that I am very glad that this visit is taking place because we need to overcome certain misunderstandings that exist with regard to Czech-Polish relations. For me, personally, it is not just a phrase to say that relations between the Czech Republic and Poland take a high priority in our policy. I am convinced that they must be perpetuated not only on government and parliament levels but on all other levels. [end recording]

[Stahlavsky] Klaus and Oleksy discussed the strengthening of economic relations, the increase of mutual investments, and the use of Polish debt to the former Czechoslovakia. After the division of the federation, the Czech Republic share of claims is $68 million. Klaus rejected the initial proposal that this balance should be

offset by deliveries of Polish coal because the Czech Republic has a surplus of coal.

The speaker of the Polish Sejm recalled the current concept according to which the debt should be used to improve the infrastructure along the common border and on ecology-related projects.

Czech, German Parliamentary Delegates Meet

LD2802201194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The Czech Parliament's Chamber of Deputies Foreign Committee delegation began a four-day visit to Germany today. Our Bonn correspondent, Jiri Halousek, has more information.

[Halousek] The Foreign Committee delegation is formed by 10 deputies from our Chamber of Deputies. The delegation was received by Hans Stercken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Committee, this morning. He told me after the first round of talks that, besides a number of shared views and interests, there were also some issues that were left open in the Czech-German agreement. Although these issues cannot be resolved within two weeks, we have to have a plan on the basis of which we can resolve them. The deputies should take a more active part in setting up this plan.

Jiri Payne, chairman of the Czech Foreign Committee, summed up his first impressions with these words.

[Begin Payne recording] I must say that, surprisingly, we have assured each other that both sides were interested in new contacts. I think that this is a good start for our talks in the approaching days. [end recording]

[Halousek] This afternoon, our deputies delegation visited the Defense Ministry in Bonn. The deputies were received by Deputy Defense Minister Bernd Wilz, who said after the meeting:

[Begin Wilz recording in German, fading into Czech translation] I believe that the NATO Partnership for Peace proposal is at present the right thing to do in the interest of the two countries—the Czech Republic and Germany—and the whole NATO Alliance. Of course, our long-term goal is equal security to all in Europe. [end recording]

[Halousek] Bernd Wilz went on to say that the agreement on military cooperation between the two countries had already been signed, that Czech officers had been studying at military schools in Germany for four years now, and that good relations had developed between [military] units in the border area. It will be possible to launch joint military exercises, although their relevant legal basis still needs to be set up.

Official Discusses Changes in Security

AU2802181894 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Tomas Fejfar, deputy chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, by Nada Adamickova; place and date not given: "Almost Nothing Has Changed in the Army Over the Past Three Years"]

[Text] [Adamickova] You have a reputation as an advocate of a thorough cleansing of the Army of, as you say, the old structures. With these views, you often fall out even with [Defense] Minister Baudys, whom you certainly do not suspect of an affiliation with these people....

[Fejfar] This is a two-tier question. It is true that, on the one hand, I am known as a sharp critic of the situation in the Army; on the other hand, my colleagues tell me that I am father of the soldiers. On the one hand, I claim that we need a smaller, strong Army, with which we would be acceptable to NATO, and, on the other, I must say that almost nothing has changed in the Army over the past three years, and therefore it must be cleansed. Nonetheless, I am not so naive to imagine that such a cleansing can be done from one day to the next. It is a process, and, when I speak of cleansing, I certainly do not mean the former communists. They represented 90 percent of the Army.

[Adamickova] So, whom do you have in mind?

[Fejfar] If I am interested in anyone at all, they are two categories: There are the former members of military counterespionage, several hundred of whom have remained in the Army, which certainly is not right, and the other category is the political instructors, albeit not all of them, but, above all, the chief indoctrinators, the entire apparatus of the Main Political Administration. After all, these people are still hiding in the Army, where, I believe, they have no place. They are very experienced and able and have their own information channels, and that is extremely dangerous.

[Adamickova] It seems, however, that Minister Baudys does not share your concern when he says that, under his charge, the process in the Army started to move and that a lot has changed in the command ranks....

[Fejfar] That is a very optimistic view. Of course, it happened partially, and there is a certain success in the extraordinary assessment of the professional soldiers. Nevertheless, some damage caused by this assessment, which unnecessarily disgusted normal soldiers, is greater than the resulting effect. I believe that it could have been done otherwise, but it is done.

[Adamickova] How otherwise?

[Fejfar] For example, the Army could have parted with these people in some way other than by screening. On the other hand, I must concede, in defense of the minister,

that it is easy to talk when we do not bear any responsibility. We are only deputies and do not have any powers in this respect.

[Adamickova] You have repeatedly voiced a suspicion publicly that KGB agents operate within the Czech Army....

[Fejfar] There are some facts, to which I have access, but of which I cannot speak. It is a combination of factual knowledge combined with a certain suspicion.

[Adamickova] It has not been long since Minister Ruml reached an agreement with Russian Intelligence Chief Primakov that the intelligence services would not work against each other. After all, a similar "gentlemen's agreement" was signed once by [then] Minister Langos. However, real life demonstrates that, in this sphere, it rather is just wishful thinking. What do you think?

[Fejfar] It would be naive to believe that foreign intelligence services, including the Russian one, do not operate here. The question is whether they work against us or only monitor the situation, whether their interest has shifted to the economic sphere. I believe that Russian intelligence understands that today we are not its sphere of influence, that it is not likely that 1968 will be repeated. Thus, its orientation certainly must be changing. In my opinion, certain cooperation links must exist, particularly in matters of organized crime. I would not object there. The more the intelligence services contact one another, the better relations will be. In summary: The intelligence services certainly operate here, but the question is whether their activities can be confined within certain limits.

[Adamickova] How would you assess, as a person involved primarily in the issues of defense and security policy, the work of the Interior Ministry?

[Fejfar] I believe that it is far from being as tragic as it seem at first sight. Frankly, to put in order such a pigsty as the Interior Ministry was, is a tremendously complex task. True, an occasional error turns up, but I am convinced that, in this situation, it is very understandable. Just remember the state of Minister Hradilek as he was leaving the Interior Ministry: He was a person on the verge of collapse. Minister Sokol approached it somewhat differently, with a smile and almost with a tennis racquet in his hand. He trivialized some problems and is very clever today and ready to advise what the present interior minister is to do. Minister Ruml, as I know him, is a truly honest person, and he wants to move things forward. I believe that the reason for the occasional scandal is the inexperience of some people at the Interior Ministry. If I am certain of anything, it is that the Ministry should have its peace. I do not mean either that no one is to control it or that the papers are not to write about a wrongdoing if it occurs. However, constant attacks against its leadership will not help the issue.

[Adamickova] The Interior Ministry is becoming the target of criticism, not only because of the scandals, but especially because of the security situation, the solution to which people consider the most pressing problem....

[Fejfar] I believe that sometimes it is overdone. The hysteria present in society, the feeling that every citizen is in danger, is completely unnecessary. If you ask someone whether anything happened to him, he usually answers: Just read the horrors in the papers. Therefore, I believe that a little calming down would not harm.

[Adamickova] Of course, only a greater feeling of security would help to calm things down....

[Fejfar] Certainly. The situation is being dealt with, as we speak. We are stricter even in the legislation. The pseudohumanistic period, when the inmates, for instance, lived better than other people, is long past. You are well aware of the much stricter regulations in several criminal laws.

[Adamickova] How do you feel about the expressed opinions that the Interior Ministry is controlled by a group of friends that has nothing professional about it?

[Fejfar] That is difficult. The same arguments can be applied to our intelligence service. General Lorenc would certainly make a very good chief of counterintelligence because what I know about him indicates that he was a perfect professional. A changeover took place here, however, new people started, and they are learning the job. If you get in such a situation, you have two possibilities—either you leave the old tested professionals at the Ministry, which is certainly not possible, or you depend on friends, whom you trust. If there are various scandals at the Interior Ministry, then, I believe it is because the new clashes there with the old. It is the same problem as in the Army, where, however, no problems are mentioned.

[Adamickova] Do you know of some?

[Fejfar] No, I do not, but I sense that they will begin as soon as a radical change takes place there.

[Adamickova] At the beginning of February, you took part in a meeting in Rome between your committee and its Italian Parliament counterpart. Have you considered the possibility of using some of their experience in our legal code?

[Fejfar] From my point of view, the most interesting part was the talks with the Defense Commission and the methods they use to monitor or are planning to monitor the Army budget. The computer networks of the Defense Ministry and the parliament are connected via satellites, and the monitoring is regular and topical. This should be our effort and objective. In addition, we brought back a lot of material that we will gradually utilize.

NATO Member Holds News Conference

LD2802214594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Report by correspondent Michal Berko on a news conference by Gebhardt von Moltke, deputy to the NATO secretary general for political affairs, and Slovak State Secretary Jan Lisuch in Bratislava on 28 February; passages within quotation marks are recorded; von Moltke speaks in English with superimposed Slovak translation]

[Text] A delegation of experts and high-ranking representatives of NATO came to Slovakia today. It is headed by Gebhardt von Moltke, deputy to the NATO secretary general for political affairs.

After the talks at the Slovak Republic Foreign Affairs Ministry, where they were received by State Secretary Jan Lisuch, they met journalists. Michal Berko reports:

[Berko] The aim of the visit from Brussels is to specify the implementation of the Partnership for Peace program, State Secretary Jan Lisuch said and added:

[Lisuch] "As to the Slovak Republic, we note that, altogether, we are prepared for participation in the Partnership for Peace program. We have been training people who will be active directly at the Coordination Center. Naturally, we consider the Partnership for Peace program a beginning of political and military cooperation with NATO, the first step toward future activities as members in NATO."

[Berko] After this brief explanation, Gebhardt von Moltke took the floor. He said that Slovakia had been very intensively involved in cooperation with NATO, that the Partnership for Peace program was not the beginning of this cooperation, but that it gave it a new dimension. It was based on the interests of the Slovak Republic. He recalled the good results of cooperation within the UN peace operations. He welcomed, above all, the fast and positive reaction of the Slovak Government in signing the framework document by Prime Minister Meciar. The talks we had here were open and took place in a friendly atmosphere, he said. He expressed the hope that a presentation [as heard] document will be quickly prepared in Slovakia on a sufficiently high authoritative level that would make it possible to transform the Partnership for Peace program into an implementation form. It should express the individual approach of Slovakia toward membership, but it should be a document that will endorse Slovakia's political obligations. Membership in NATO was not a membership in a stamp-collecting club, Gebhardt von Moltke said.

Asked whether NATO had an order for accepting the countries of Central Europe—the question that was brought up by former U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheyney when he said yesterday that one had to quickly accept Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic into NATO, while omitting Slovakia—Mr. Moltke said dryly: Mr. Cheyney was defense secretary, but then he added:

[Moltke] "I want to assure you that NATO has no pecking order, that it has not made any preliminary selection for acceptance."

[Berko] Answering numerous questions as to what extent the process of the Partnership for Peace program can influence the development in Russia [words indistinct], von Moltke said that we considered expanding NATO as an element of stability also for Russia. All, however, depended on the behavior of Russia. As to the address by Boris Yeltsin, Mr. Moltke said that it was motivated by the internal political development in Russia. Russia, however, was an important element of stability and European security, and we wanted to cooperate with Russia if it were willing to defend and cooperate on the basis of democratic principles.

[Moltke] We do not want to create new divisions and borders in Europe.

SDL's Weiss on Stalemate in Parliament

AU0103095094 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Feb 94 p 9

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Karol Wolf in Bratislava; date not given: "Peter Weiss: Prime Minister Meciar Does Not Want Elections"]

[Text] Bratislava—The strongest Slovak opposition party is the postcommunist Party of the Democratic Left (SDL). It has 28 seats in parliament, and, if an attempt is made to recall Vladimir Meciar's government, it will play a decisive role. In view of the continuing political crisis in Slovakia, MLADA FRONTA DNES asked SDL Chairman Peter Weiss for an interview.

[Wolf] What do you think of the possibility that Prime Minister Meciar's government may be recalled?

[Weiss] The reasons for such a step are clear. The prime minister's Cabinet demonstrates day in and day out that it is incapable of governing normally. On the other hand, the status of the possible broad-coalition government or, rather, the issue of whether it would have enough support in parliament is unclear. At the moment, we cannot count on the definite support of some of the deputies from the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), and, what is more significant, the opposition Hungarian Egyutteles movement has not given any clear guarantees that it will not attempt to blackmail the new government by making demands for its ethnic minority. Egyutteles is setting the kind of conditions that even a provisional government could not fulfill in the current situation. We concur in this with Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement.

[Wolf] What kind of conditions is Egyutteles setting?

[Weiss] For example, the adoption of the European Charter on Self-Administrations and the Charter on Minority Rights. I am not claiming that these issues cannot be dealt with later, but Egyutteles has to realize that, in the Slovak environment, which is strongly nationalized, no government can undertake such a thing. These issues must be resolved by the cabinet that will come out of the parliamentary elections.

[Wolf] What is the situation at the moment?

[Weiss] Negotiations are still taking place, and we have even tried to hold talks with the HZDS. However, Vladimir Meciar has made it clear that he does not want to negotiate. On the contrary, he has initiated a petition on holding a referendum. The aim of it is to expel from parliament those deputies who have left the HZDS and Slovak National Party Clubs.

[Wolf] The prime minister has let it be known that he would like elections as soon as possible. Do you really think he wants early elections?

[Weiss] I am beginning to think more and more that he does not. His plan is, in my opinion, to get the supporters of Milan Knazko and Ludovit Cernak out of parliament and to get into a situation in which he will again have a majority. Our party, however, is working on a proposal for the Constitutional Court, which has to say whether stripping a deputy of his mandate is possible. In my opinion, this is out of order just as it is out of order for a deputy to be held hostage by his party. As the chairman of the largest opposition party, I know what it is like to have a deputies' club at my disposal, but I would never be able to take a step that would deprive a deputy of his freedom. The question the HZDS wants to ask about mandates in the referendum can be interpreted as follows: If a deputy is expelled from his party, he loses his mandate. This could lead to a situation in which five or six party chairmen hold sway over parliament, and their deputies would be powerless. This kind of situation is absolutely unacceptable.

News Conference Held on Coalition Talks

LD2802220594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Article on a news conference by Vladimir Meciar, Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Jan Slota, chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS), and Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), with unidentified correspondents in Bratislava on 28 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Top officials of the HZDS and the SNS met for regular coalition talks today. HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar and SNS Chairman Jan Slota briefed journalists on the results of the talks at an impromptu meeting:

[Meciar] Both parties agreed on fundamental talks [zasadne rozhovory] with the SDL on how to stabilize and assess the situation. As for the developments in the most immediate future, we have to take into consideration several new facts.

First, representatives of the Association of Towns and Villages strongly protest against the possibility that communal elections could coincide with the national elections.

Second, by 25 February, over 400,000 people said in a petition that they were in favor of a referendum as a means of solving the present political situation and of tackling all three questions. As far as I know, the petition committee later relaxed its activities because it obtained many more signatures than needed, and many more were still interested in signing.

Third, we cannot allow the parliamentary crisis to change into a permanent one. It would affect economic and social relations in such a way that the political climate would eventually result in the deterioration of the economy and of social welfare. It would be the people who would pay for it—in prices, pensions, etc. That is threatening the state. It is in the interest of the state—we both agreed on this—to hold elections as soon as possible. The date of 24-25 June 1994 seems to us to be the most suitable. However, the HZDS and the SNS together do not have enough votes to be able to push these dates through in parliament. That is why we need to hold talks with other political parties.

[Correspondent] Which parties come under consideration?

[Meciar] The SDL. We have agreed that both parties would hold talks with the SDL.

[Slota] Clearly, June is the most suitable election time for the SNS. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Is there any realistic chance that the SDL and the HZDS would agree on the date of early elections, which should be, as the prime minister said today, the end of June 1994?

[Weiss] There is no realistic chance for that. We have received no official offer for talks. I do not know on what grounds the prime minister gave you such information.

Party Leaders on Partnership With HZDS

LD2802193394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Excerpts] At the session in Vyhne on 27 February, the republican leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] asked the movement's political board to discuss the possibility of stepping up cooperation in the future with other political entities. The HZDS is counting on its coalition partner, the Slovak National Party, in order to form an election bloc, and is also considering as its partners the Christian Social Union,

the Farmers' Party of Slovakia, and the Party of the Greens in Slovakia. Preliminary talks have already been held with these parties.

We asked the representatives of potential partners of the ruling movement about the conditions under which they would be willing to accept an offer for coalition cooperation.

Speaking on behalf of the Christian Social Union [KSU] is Deputy Chairman Viliam Oberhauser:

[Begin Oberhauser recording] In a period when further fragmentation of political forces is taking place, the KSU is looking for possibilities to bring these forces together because it is precisely this solution that Slovakia needs in the present period. [passage omitted]

We have been engaged in talks with other partners—the Slovak National Party and the HZDS. We are open to everyone willing to form an association on national and Christian principles and on the principle of solving the social problems of the Slovak people. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The resolution adopted by the delegates to the Second Congress of the Farmers' Party of Slovakia, which took place in Martin on 26 February, spoke of the party's willingness to cooperate with the HZDS. Miroslav Makson, the party's deputy chairman, outlines his party's position on this issue.

[Begin Makson recording] We are and we wish to be a political party of the center. From this viewpoint, the HZDS is objectively the most suitable political partner. I think that, apart from this fact, it is precisely the HZDS that has the same—and on some points even identical—agrarian program as the Farmers' Party of Slovakia.

On the basis of this fact, the delegates to the congress arrived at the conclusion that the HZDS is the most suitable political partner for us. The delegates themselves confirmed, as it were, that the HZDS would do more for the farmers than they have managed to do so far if the current political situation were more stabilized. [passage omitted]

Just the attitude of the prime minister and HZDS Chairman Meciar toward farming provides a certain political guarantee that farming will gradually be developed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Our colleague Peter Turcik telephoned Jozef Pokorny, chairman of the Party of the Greens in Slovakia, and asked him under what conditions the party would be willing to enter into a coalition with the HZDS.

[Begin recording] [Pokorny] [passage omitted] Our condition for a possible entry into a coalition or an election bloc—and by this I do not mean just the HZDS, but also other partners that have already approached us—is respect for environmental protection, a positive attitude toward environmental legislation, and the preservation of the state administration governing the environment, which has been under discussion for more than two years. [passage omitted]

[Turcik] Are you ready to enter into this coalition provided the HZDS offer is actually finalized?

[Pokorny] I do not link this intention to only one movement—in other words, the HZDS. We have received this offer from the HZDS, but it is up to the party's membership to decide on this issue. In no case do the Greens want to be swallowed—and I can guarantee that this is not going to happen—by another powerful party that talks about the environment only before the elections and forgets all about it after it has joined the parliament. We saw this happen in the past. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Foreign Ministry on 'Act of Terror' in Hebron

LD2802211494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] is deeply concerned about the serious increase in tension in the Middle East. At the same time, the MSZ expresses its profound condemnation of the act of terror that took place at the Hebron mosque, a statement issued by the Ministry says. According to the Polish MSZ, this tragic incident and its consequences have harmed the atmosphere of the peace process in the Middle East and are threatening to undermine the results achieved so far.

Daily Comments on Downing of Bosnian Aircraft

WS0103101694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Mar 94 p 21

[Commentary by Maria Wagrowska: "Why Now?"]

[Text] The shooting down of the aircraft over northern Bosnia has been the first military intervention in the Yugoslav conflict as well as the first combat action in the 45-year-long history of NATO.

The possibility of an operation by the Western air forces should have been taken into account. Since April 1993 there has been a UN resolution which envisions the possibility of such a reaction to the violation of the air space over Bosnia. Since the spring of 1993 NATO has allowed the possibility of taking military action whose purpose goes beyond the defense of the territories of the "16." However, in the past as many as 500 cases of violating the no-fly zone were noted. Why, then, has NATO decided to shoot down the aircraft now?

The information coming from the NATO headquarters suggests that the organization's strategists did that for military reasons. Their arguments boil down to the statement that there had never before been such a significant violation of the no-fly zone and that there had never been a need for an unambiguous reaction.

Despite that, one can suppose that NATO undertook the operation for political reasons as well. Acting with the authorization of the greatest international organization—the United Nations—it decided to underscore that it is the only political-military grouping in the world which is able to take an effective military action, an action that corresponds to the challenges, threats, and needs of the present day. The NATO operation in Bosnia has no characteristic features of an offensive action (the organization excluded such a character of military operations also in the era of confrontation with the East) or of a revenge action. It is an action aimed at restoring peace in a regional conflict.

It offers the Western alliance a chance to regain its credibility, which has been eroded by a lack of action since the beginning of the Yugoslav tragedy. NATO's action shows that this organization feels responsible for the security of the regions located outside of the traditional area of NATO operation. However, it may also show that the West does not want to leave such regions in the zone of Russia's influence.

Deputy Prime Minister Receives U.S. Ambassador

LD2802176494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1209 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Feb—Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak has received Nicholas Rey, ambassador of the United States to Poland. During the meeting, opinions were exchanged on the implementation of agreements on student and academic exchange signed between Poland and the United States, the Government Press Office has disclosed.

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak described changes that had recently been introduced in the structure of the department of education aimed at achieving increased efficiency of teacher training.

He also expressed the view that forming one organization that would represent the interests of Poles living in America would have a positive influence on contacts of the American Poles with their mother country. The Polish Government will make efforts to persuade American Poles to form such an organization.

Ambassador Rey pointed out that the U.S. Government was following with interest and positively assessed the course of reforms in Poland so far.

The two interlocutors agreed that the condition for Poland's preserving its international credibility was firm financial discipline. They also expressed the hope that the Partnership for Peace program would become a factor in bringing Poland and the United States closer together, the Press Office statement says.

Zhirinovskiy To Attend FNS Congress

LD2802155094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1031 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Feb—The first congress of the Self-Defense National Front [FNS] will be held in Warsaw on 12 March, the FNS Political Council decided at its extraordinary meeting. Twenty-two regions were represented at the meeting.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, will be a guest of the congress. The date of Zhirinovskiy's arrival in Poland and the program of his visit have not been disclosed so far.

Politicians React to Walesa-Parliament Dispute

AU2802142194 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Feb 94 pp 1-2

[Article by DP: "Walesa's Destruction"]

[Text] On Tuesday [22 February], President Walesa decided to withdraw his representative on the National Assembly Constitutional Commission and the constitutional draft that had been presented before the Commission earlier.

He affirmed his decision in a letter to Sejm speaker Jozef Oleksy: "Because my constitutional initiative was rejected already after its first reading without a serious discussion and without so much as am examination, I have decided to withdraw my representative from the Constitutional Commission. At the same time, I withdraw my constitutional draft."

"One is surprised by the president's decision," says speaker Oleksy. "It is regrettable that he has withdrawn his candidate because that narrows down the scope of consultations. In his statements today, the president did not confine himself to constitutional matters, but also referred to the entire parliament. It is not quite clear what he had in mind when he spoke of the need to suppress the postcommunists. After all, he himself gave the postcommunists a chance. Well, that's it. The Sejm majority rejected his constitutional draft.

"But what surprises me most of all is that the president does not know if he will hold talks with the Sejm on nonconstitutional topics. I think he made a mistake or a slipup when he said that there is a conflict between the president and parliament in every single country, for example in Russia. That possesses militant undertones, and is hardly an appropriate thing to say.

"I have the impression that the president does not want to see a constitution adopted in the nearest future. I fail to understand what he means when he says 'graveyard peace.'

"I will talk to the president and try to clarify with him what the powers of the highest state bodies are. That is a subject of my concern. Provided, of course, that it is still possible to talk to him.

"I see no reason to make loud noises about a break of relations between the president and parliament, even if the president has suffered a defeat because of the rejection of his legislative initiative. I would not like confusion and political squabbling to be the only way to achieve objectives."

Says Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Constitutional Commission: "The president has commenced his election campaign too early. He wants to use the constitution as his chief political argument. We will support the constitution that has been prepared by parliament, but the president, at the head of nonparliamentary forces, will call on people to shun it."

Kwasniewski recalled that the Constitutional Commission has not only the right but also the duty to fulfill the law on preparing and adopting the constitution, whether or not the president takes part in this work. But he fears that the president is intent on deflecting the debate away from the constitution toward politics in general and the subject of who supports the president and who does not.

"We are approaching an absurd situation," Kwasniewski continues. "Either we have democracy and parliamentarism, where we respect the law, or we have a destabilization of the state and the use of illegitimate legal methods. We are now dealing with an offensive against parliament just because we won the elections. That is a repetition of the old communist principle whereby power lies wherever the communists happen to be, and everything not connected with the communists has nothing to do with authority, or parliamentarism, or democracy."

SdRP Chairman: No 'Dark Clouds' Over SLD

WS2802143094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Feb 94 p 3

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, an SLD component, and chief of the SLD Parliamentary Club, by Ewa Kaszuba; place and date not given: "I Continue To Be Effective"]

[Excerpts] [Kaszuba] What happened to make the most effective politician of last year, as you were described, begin this year with conflict and defeat?

[Kwasniewski] I continue to be effective.

[Kaszuba] By losing to Prime Minister Pawlak?

[Kwasniewski] And what do you think I lost to him?

[Kaszuba] You lost influence over the cabinet, as well as [former Finance Minister] Marek Borowski.

[Kwasniewski] So you think Pawlak won by letting Borowski go?

[Kaszuba] No, I do not, but you lost in a double way.

[Kwasniewski] It is not the case that when you have a coalition arrangement, some can win at the expense of others. A coalition arrangement is a system of "joint vessels," it is a concept which is either implemented together, or not. Borowski's resignation constitutes a weakening of the cabinet and it is also a bad message being sent to the public, both in Poland and around the world: In Poland the message is: They are arguing. The message around the world is: A man whose economic ideas were beginning to be widely accepted, leaves under strange circumstances. And that is more of a mistake by the prime minister—it is he who is in charge of the team—than it is mine because I made efforts for Borowski to stay. It is wrong to look at this from the point of who wanted to spite whom. I do not evaluate my efficiency by looking at disputes with Pawlak, Walesa, or anybody else. The efficiency, both mine and the government's, will first of all be measured by [Sejm] approval of the budget in its current form. That budget is hard to accept, but it is rational. Secondly, the efficiency will be

measured by the government's presentation over the next few months of its strategies of action regarding the economy, social policies, and international affairs. Third of all, that efficiency will be measured by the world's acceptance of the unique phenomenon of a Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party [SLD-PSL] cabinet. And fourth of all, it will be measured by the coalition's consistent behavior, one which would not mean wasting time on fruitless disputes. If these things happen, over the coming weeks or months, then it will turn out I am effective. And it does not make sense to speak in terms of who won over whom. I said from the very beginning that there is no formula of a prime minister without portfolio—one makes decisions and bears responsibility, while the other is the chief of the parliamentary faction. That is why reports on my political death are premature, just as reports about my enormous power and influence were unjustified.

[Kaszuba] You have accused the prime minister of having breached the coalition agreement. But the agreement is not any kind of legal document, but a gentlemen's agreement. If there is someone to commit a breach of such an agreement, then you simply refuse to speak to that person anymore.

[Kwasniewski] Of course, the Constitution's importance is superior in that regard, but there are different kinds of agreements outside of the Constitution's scope, and every one of these agreements has its own significance. Once we decide to begin breaching these agreements, then we will be constantly dealing will courts and attorneys. The coalition agreement is not a gentlemen's agreement but a very significant document which constitutes this cabinet's basis. The agreement must be respected, and if there are problems with implementing any of its provisions, then there must be a system of early warning, for negotiating, renegotiating, and so forth.

[Kaszuba] And what if one of the parties commits a breach of the agreement?

[Kwasniewski] Then a few harsh words must be exchanged, some principles must be established, and then one must wait and see what will happen next. Since the situation is new and not everyone has matured enough to go through it, we must wait and see what will happen over the next few weeks.

[Kaszuba] Dark clouds have been gathering over SLD for some time now. Immediately after the coalition conflict, a conflict with the president began, which came about in a not very reasonable manner, to put it mildly, also by votes of SLD Sejm deputies. You are responsible for the SLD Deputies' Club.

[Kwasniewski] I would not speak of dark clouds, even though some centers of power have initiated measures against the winners of the most recent elections; that is to say, against us. I warned my colleagues many times that after the pleasant part, problems would begin since many groups will not just let us get away with our victory. This applies to the right wing, which failed to get into parliament, and to "Solidarity" which is largely responsible for what happened recently. It would be hard to rely on special consideration on the part of the president. There is the parliamentary opposition which, by definition, cannot favor what we do. And also within PSL itself, as we can recall from the previous term, the positions on SLD were diversified: Some did not hesitate to be in contact with us, whereas some others were looking for support inside the church or in the right-wing camp. The fact that we are being attacked today, is nothing strange. But society can quite clearly see how straightforward the game really is: When "Solidarity" attacks us during a demonstration but at the same time they try to act with restraint toward PSL, then that has political significance. When the president notes that an overwhelming part of our deputies' club voted against his initiative, and at the same time he fails to mention that the PSL Deputies Club was also very predominantly against, then that is also a kind of game. For some politicians who lost, the main task is to set SLD aside again, and to achieve that, they divide the coalition into two parts: Those in PSL with whom they could possibly talk, and those in SLD who must be rejected. This is the reaction to our victory, a slightly delayed reaction.

[Kaszuba] You are talking about everyone who dislikes SLD, whereas I was asking about the president.

[Kwasniewski] I do not hide the fact that it was a mistake to vote against his initiatives. We did not devote enough time to the issue during a session of the deputies' club; if it were not for that, then a motion for submitting [the presidential initiatives] to the [appropriate Sejm] commission, would have been approved (even though that would not have to mean the end of the issue). Both the President's Office and the president himself were not active enough on that, either.

[Kaszuba] The president admitted that he had not expected this kind of response from the Sejm deputies, which he called arrogance.

[Kwasniewski] But on the other hand, he must take into account that when one reads the provisions suggested by him relative to a constitutional referendum, it clearly follows from those provisions that a dissolution of the Sejm and the Senate is a result not only of a lost referendum but also—and Article 2 provides that—at the point in time when the referendum's results are announced. True, this could be regarded as a perverse joke by [presidential aide] Minister Falandysz, but many a Sejm deputy thought that the net result of the president's initiative will be that the Sejm's term of office will terminate at the point when the new constitution is adopted. In a way, I can sympathize with the position of those Sejm deputies who thought that. But that does not change the fact that I accept part of the responsibility. This was not a fortunate vote—I voted in favor but the opposite view prevailed. But that is just one side of the coin. The other side is the escalation of events. The Sejm is being spoken of in terms of being disavowed, in terms

of being unrepresentative. Some adjectives are being used that we have not heard for a long time: decommunization, file-checking [lustracja], and speaking about Stalin, the idol, which I regard as a very poor joke. The president withdrew his representatives [from the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission], which in my view is not permissible under the current legal system. And finally, a proposal was made—which is completely deprived of any legal basis—that the president will prepare a constitution somewhere on the side. It is not possible to do that. But I perceive the most recent statements coming from the president as a willingness to alleviate the dispute, and I think it is the right thing to do. If there is anything I would expect from the Polish Republic's president, it is that we will be able to act peacefully in 1994, and that we will regard 1994 as a year of hard work, not one of conflicts, election campaigns, and infighting. That would be a beneficial thing for the president, for the cabinet, for the entire state, and for all of us. I am proposing that the year be devoted to talks within the commission and to discussing the Constitution without much publicity or tension. Both the cabinet and the president would each do with their own thing. Poland deserves this kind of year of tranquility. [passage omitted]

[Kaszuba] Looking back at the last four months and also taking into account SLD's situation today, do you not think it was a political mistake for you not to be included in the government?

[Kwasniewski] No, I do not.

[Kaszuba] Do you exclude such a possibility [of joining the cabinet] now that SLD is having problems finding a deputy prime minister? Consider the following scenario: You become a deputy prime minister, Marek Borowski becomes your chief adviser, while the Finance Ministry is under the control of someone who performs the role of the Republic's main accountant.

[Kwasniewski] That is not the issue. Not all the problems which we have to solve, lie within governmental structures. These problems also have their parliamentary dimension, an extraparliamentary one, and so forth. Once a decision is made that the chief of the runner-up party in the elections takes control of the government, the presence of a leader of the winning party would be an unnatural thing. That would be a weird situation. I limited my expectations to parliamentary actions and to chairing the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. That was a completely natural and effective arrangement, with Borowski's participation.

[Kaszuba] But is it not strange that while a leader of the winning party remains on the fringes of the government, he tries to influence it, and he participates in conflicts which he wins in some cases but loses in others?

[Kwasniewski] I do not win any conflicts; I am just trying to do my job—that is, to assure support for this cabinet in the kind of deputies' club where it is not easy to do so. Compared with other countries, that is not a peculiar situation.

[Kaszuba] Perhaps the reason for that is that you can no longer leave the deputies' club since none of the members of parliament, who do not perform state functions, would be able to tame the club?

[Kwasniewski] No.

[Kaszuba] Despite assurances that the situation both within and around SLD is quite normal, my perception is that it is extremely complicated. Perhaps you took too many responsibilities upon yourself?

[Kwasniewski] I am just party chairman, the chairman of the deputies' club, and the [Constitutional] Commission chief. How can one compare that with the responsibilities which Prime Minister Pawlak fulfills and bears so well—prime minister, chairman of the faction, and party chairman? That is much more difficult. You [journalists] have adopted the tactic of fault-finding. And there is indeed some fault but not where you are looking for it.

[Kaszuba] What do you mean?

[Kwasniewski] The government is going through its first true test, that is the budget. Over the next few months, the government must propose three very major programs which must gain support from the coalition and from society at large. These are: A program of economic strategies, a program of reforms in social policies, and a step-by-step program for joining the European Union. Some of the work has not progressed very much and that is the main problem.

[Kaszuba] Are you not afraid of the possible results of the first test you mentioned? The deputies' club has announced that voting discipline will be enforced, but the Sejm deputies, especially those from the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement, may not stand the discipline. If this budget becomes law, SLD can face serious internal problems, and if it is not, then we all can face serious problems.

[Kwasniewski] That is why one must choose the lesser problems. First of all, the budget must be maintained—one must understand that. I will reject arguments like: We know there is no money, but the money must be found anyway. Secondly, there is the political dimension: The deputies' club must understand that the parliamentary arrangement has established a coalition which set up the best government it could, and that government in turn prepared the best budget it could. It is a duty of this coalition to support a budget prepared by the coalition's own government. Whoever refuses to understand that, must draw conclusions. These may be: Either: I was wrong, I give up my Sejm seat—that would be the most honest attitude—or: I was wrong but I will wait for the moment, and I will not take part in the club's proceedings. There is also a third possible position: Even if I have doubts, I will always decide in favor of the

coalition and the government. Otherwise, the public will have no idea of what we are up to. These principles will be adopted prior to the vote and they will be observed to the full extent. A third issue is that the public must be told that this is not a budget of dreams but one of economic realities; strategic programs must also be proposed. I have been dealing with politics long enough to know that a government that wants to verify its popularity everyday, must lose, whereas a government which simply does its job and then faces elections at the appropriate time—such a government wins.

[Kaszuba] When talking about positions which you expect SLD Sejm deputies to take during the budget vote, you did not mention one of them, which may in fact prevail: Namely, that failure by the Sejm to adopt the budget will mean the Sejm's dissolution, whereas a majority of deputies in that club have practically no chance of being reelected for the next term.

[Kwasniewski] That is also a valid argument. It is not the main one, but it does make some sense nevertheless.

Military Educational System Described

PM2802121194 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 17 Feb 94 p 5

[Interview with Colonel Piotr Sliwinski, chief of Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship Military Headquarters, by correspondent Pawel Larecki; place and date not given]

[Text] [Larecki] Voivodship Military Headquarters and Military Clearing Centers are being besieged by young candidates for military schools. What is the reason for such a surge of interest in military education?

[Sliwinski] The Army gives people concrete skills and occupations. After graduating from a military school, a young man has a guaranteed job with us, a substantial salary, and the promise of getting an apartment soon—in other words, prospects of security and stability. Young men are increasingly eager to join our establishments. It is not that they follow a fashionable trend—rather, it is their chosen way of planning their lives.

[Larecki] Let us begin with university-type schools, which educate their students to master's degree level.

[Sliwinski] There are three well-known educational establishments at that level: the Military Technical Academy in Warsaw, the Military Medical Academy in Lodz, and the Naval Academy in Gdynia.

[Larecki] What about other higher education establishments?

[Sliwinski] After the planned reorganization, we will recruit students to four establishments training students to the level of higher technical college education. These will be: the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Officers College in Wroclaw, the Stefan Czarniecki Officers College in Poznan, the Jozef Bem Officers College in Torun, and the Air Force Officers College in Deblin.

[Larecki] There is a particularly large number of applicants hoping to join warrant officers schools.

[Sliwinski] We have 14 such schools in the country, with a range of specialized profiles—for example, mechanized troops, engineering troops, signals troops, air force, military police, and navy. These schools train students to the level of technical high school education. In addition, there are four noncommissioned officers schools training students to the level of occupational colleges: the Navy College in Ustka, the Military College of Music in Gdansk, the Air Force College in Deblin, and the General Military College in Czestochowa.

[Larecki] What documents are required for admission to military colleges?

[Sliwinski] An application, in preset questionnaire format, to join the given college (application forms are available on request from the Military Clearing Centers), two photographs, a handwritten curriculum vitae, the original copy of the graduation certificate from the relevant occupational college or high school, a reference or recommendation document from the school (if the application is submitted in the year of graduation), a copy of the birth certificate (if the candidate does not yet have a full or provisional identification document), a signed declaration undertaking to perform professional military service for a period determined by the parliamentary act on professional military service, a reference or recommendation from any social or political organizations to which the candidate may belong, and, if previously employed, a reference from the latest employer.

The documents should be submitted at the appropriate Military Clearing Center during the months of March and April. Candidates will have to sit examinations in mathematics, physics, and a foreign language, and also a current affairs knowledge test.

[Larecki] What if a candidate does not want to study but just to do career service instead?

[Sliwinski] He has two recently created military career opportunities open to him. The first is a five-year contract service for officers, ensigns, and noncommissioned officers. This can be extended by another five years twice, so that the total length of contract service can be 15 years. The other possibility is extended basic national service, which will be offered for up to four years.

[Larecki] A scheme has been launched whereby students of university-level military academies are sent to do their study courses abroad.

[Sliwinski] Yes, at some of the more distinguished American and French military academies. Admission is contingent on the candidate's passing an examination in the appropriate language at the relevant country's embassy in Poland.

[Larecki] Thank you for talking to us.

PolSat Granted Broadcasting License

LD0103123994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1135 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Mar—Marek Markiewicz, chairman of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council, on 1 March signed a document granting a broadcasting license to PolSat. At a news conference, he pointed out that the decision was final and could not be subject to appeal.

The decision on granting the license to PolSat has aroused much controversy. Among other things, there have been articles in Warsaw daily newspapers containing references to the murky past of the owner of this station, Zygmunt Solorz. Also, President Walesa has voiced his doubts.

On Tuesday, when explaining his position with regard to the controversy, Markiewicz said that, on the day when the decision on the license for PolSat was made, he talked about this to the president and Minister of State Mieczyslaw Wachowski. He said that "the conversation with the president was unpleasant and an accusation was made that the council had accepted a bribe."

'Some 580,000' Union Members on Strike

AU2802155794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] A communique released by the Alfa Cartel announces that the trade unions affiliated to Alfa Cartel through 26 professional federations have also started a strike for 48 hours starting with the first shift today. The only exceptions are the mining trade unions belonging to the National Mining Trade Union Federation, who will go on strike tomorrow, also starting with the first shift. According to information received, 1,180 trade unions totalling some 580,000 members are on total or partial strike at this point; the rest of the trade union members are on Japanese strike [as heard]. The labor action has encompassed the iron and steel industry, metallurgy, mechanics, units with continuous production, electrical engineering, electronics, chemistry, transportation, agriculture, and public administration from the majority of the country's counties, particularly in Brasov, Hunedoara, Salaj, Timis, Iasi, Sibiu, Alba, Bistrita-Nasaud, Arad, Tulcea, Calarasi, and Mehedinti Counties as well as Bucharest Municipality.

The communique is signed by Mr. Romulus Nita, first vice president of Alfa Cartel Confederation.

Iliescu on Political Situation, Early Elections

AU0103102094 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Feb 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Corina Dragotescu; place and date not given: "Any Government in Romania Must Be a Government of Reform"]

[Text] Recently there have been several surprising evolutions in our political life. The breakup of the pentagonal, the start of dialogue between the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] and the PD [Democratic Party], the "dual" government formula, and the resumption of discussions with the opposition are issues that appear every day on the front page our newspapers.

We asked Romanian President Ion Iliescu to give his views concerning these most recent events.

[Dragotescu] In your opinion, what chance is there that the PDSR and the PD will reconcile their differences?

[Iliescu] I believe that what is under discussion here is not so much the programmatic aspect of the respective issue but certain obstinate behavior that has appeared in human relations. Therefore, I believe that dialogue is difficult also because of these resentments that have arisen and, certainly, because of the fact that these resentments are emphasized by certain principles. It is always easy to break up a relationship but it is much more difficult to repair it. Probably, this also holds true on a large scale: Namely, a military conflict can break out easily but it is very difficult to achieve reconciliation. A split in the family can also be easily provoked when people do not show enough concern. However, the sides make up with great difficulty. That is the case with political formations too.

[Dragotescu] Are there any misunderstandings between you and Mr. Petre Roman [Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) leader]?

[Iliescu] I have never had any misunderstanding with him. He started to move along a certain path and I believe that, in so doing, he also displayed certain aspects of his character that are not in his favor.

[Dragotescu] In journalistic circles, there is much talk about the fact that C.V. Tudor [senator, president of the Greater Romania Party] allows himself to attack you in certain ways because he has a hold on you.

[Iliescu] Nobody has any hold on me whatsoever. I have led a straight and honest life and I am not ashamed of anything that I have done in my life. Therefore, one should not think along these lines. I have to be more careful when I express myself because, in view of my official position, I cannot allow myself to start disputes and feuds with anybody. Considering the way in which Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor behaves, I believe that it would be completely below my dignity even to offer him a reply.

[Dragotescu] Do you believe in a PDSR-PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] government that might operate for a longer time than the current government?

[Iliescu] It depends on several things. It is not only a question of direct understanding between two parties that, in any case, cannot form a majority. If, together, they could form a parliamentary majority, then, certainly, one could talk about it. However, given the fact that they cannot, the issue becomes more delicate.

[Dragotescu] Would you personally prefer a government that includes the PDSR and the opposition?

[Iliescu] I prefer nothing. I would like a government that, to a certain extent, is stable and enjoys the support of Parliament. I have said this often and I see that this is not how things are perceived at all: Political understanding between political formations that are included in Parliament is one thing and the possible structure of a government is another. The government might also include only specialists or representatives of a single political formation, but this has to be achieved on the basis of a political platform that has larger parliamentary support. No matter what kind of governments will follow, Romania's problems remain the same. Any Romanian government should be a government of reform. This, no doubt, requires broad political and social support.

[Dragotescu] Don't you think that there is a certain contradiction in what you are saying? On the one hand, you often accuse the opposition of taking provocative

actions that lead to destabilization while, on the other hand, you accept the PDSR associating with the opposition.

[Iliescu] No! One can always criticize somebody. This does not mean a halt to dialogue. In a dialogue, there are also controversies and differences of opinions, including criticism of uncivilized behavior. However, I want to repeat that this does not mean that political dialogue should stop. The aim of such a dialogue is not to settle differences of opinions and to start an exchange of niceties. There might even be a heated dialogue on controversial issues between persons holding opposing views. However, this is the only way in which Romania's interests can be promoted.

[Dragotescu] Do you believe that early elections might be a solution?

[Iliescu] Possibly, if no other solution is found. However, I believe that this would not be favorable for the country. An election campaign would only disturb public life. This year, we should concentrate on doing something positive in the economy in order to overcome the current crisis.

Slovenia's Peterle Visits, Meets Officials

Talks With Melescanu Reported

AU2802165294 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle is paying a visit to Romania today. He was received by his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu. After the talks the sides signed an agreement between the governments of the two countries on cooperation in education, culture, science, and sports and a protocol on cooperation between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

According to the statement made by the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, the discussion with his Slovene counterpart has emphasized the continuous improvement of the bilateral relations, particularly regarding trade exchanges. The sides also tackled the need to harmonize the positions of the two countries on the issue of Euro-Atlantic integration and the cooperation among the countries in our region.

Mr. Lojze Peterle expressed satisfaction with the documents signed, which he assessed as an important step forward in the cooperation between Romania and Slovenia. He added that he talked with the Romanian foreign minister about the need to speed up the efforts to find new avenues for economic and political cooperation, our correspondent reports.

Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle also had talks at the Ministry of Trade on the current stage and prospects of the trade and cooperation relations between the two countries. He pointed out that, although the transition to the market economy and the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia have affected the bilateral trade exchanges, they nevertheless doubled last year, compared to 1992. The Romanian and Slovene delegations expressed the hope that the two states will shortly sign an accord on economic cooperation, which has already been agreed upon by the experts of the two countries, as well as other agreements and understandings to facilitate trade exchanges and bilateral cooperation.

The Slovene foreign minister will also meet with the Romanian president, the prime minister, and the presidents of the two chambers of parliament this evening.

Meets With Iliescu, Vacaroiu

AU0103070894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle concluded his visit to Bucharest tonight. The program of his visit included a meeting with Romanian President Ion Iliescu at Cotroceni Palace.

According to statements made by the guest to our correspondent, during the meeting aspects and common aspects of the transition process in both countries and issues referring to security and bilateral relations were discussed.

Mr. Lojze Peterle was also received by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu. The meeting was also attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. During the meeting the sides assessed the stage of relations between the two countries in the regional, European, and world context. The sides also briefed each other about the development of the process of transition to market economy. The dialogue provided a good opportunity for the sides to emphasize the possibility of furthering and expanding relations between Romania and Slovenia on the basis of the summit meetings that are going to be held and of the bilateral accords that will be signed in the near future.

Mr. Lojze Peterle also held talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. An accord between the government of the two countries on cooperation in the areas of education, culture, science, and sports as well as the protocol on cooperation between the two ministries were signed.

The guest was also received by Adrian Nastase, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Romanian parliament.

U.S. Espionage Case Seen as Warning for Europe

AU2802202494 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 24 Feb 94 p 1

[Ion Cristoiu editorial: "The Washington Sensation"]

[Text] Everybody in the world has heard the news. The head of the anti-KGB section of the CIA, Aldrich Hazen

Ames, was arrested on Monday [21 February] afternoon. He is accused of spying for the KGB. The information revealed to the press about this sensational affair seems to have been taken from police movies and novels. Aldrich Hazen Ames has worked for the KGB for several years. He was at the head of a team that was in charge of discovering KGB spies in the United States. It is easy to imagine how good the KGB agents felt after Aldrich Hazen Ames was recruited. It is also easy to imagine—from what one learned from police movies and spy novels—how much disaster his betrayal must have caused to honest CIA agents. It is also thrilling to think of how he was being followed by the FBI from the moment when his foolish expenditures became suspicious. His house was discretely searched, all rooms bugged, and he was put under constant surveillance. And with this, the spy novel has ended. However, a political novel begins now, and this will last for quite some time. This will happen because this espionage affair, that is, the Washington sensation, is also a political affair. From this point of view, we should first note that Aldrich Hazen Ames' arrest is a revelation for the whole world, but mostly for Eastern Europe. Among several illusions created by the dissolution of the Soviet Union was the belief that the KGB has reduced its power in the world and in Eastern Europe. However, the Monday afternoon event shows us that the dismantlement of the Soviet empire has by no means weakened the force of the KGB. On the contrary, if we were to judge by the blow given to the CIA, the KGB seems to have become even more powerful. It is true, Aldrich Hazen Ames was recruited during the Cold War. However, he also continued to work for them successfully after increasingly more frequent talk in the world about the Russian-American friendship. For the Americans and for the West in general, the arrest of the high CIA official might have the positive effect of an alarm clock. Whoever is still dozing, seduced by the pro-American smiles of the leaders in Kremlin, will certainly wake up for good. The disclosure in Washington proved that in a more thorough plan than that required by protocol—and intensely publicized—Moscow's current policy toward the United States and the West does not differ much from the policy promoted by Moscow in the past. If Aldrich Hazen Ames' arrest is important for the West, for Eastern Europe and for us Romanians it is crucial. With our sharp awareness of scenarios, we suspected that the KGB has not meanwhile become a charity institution. We had the feeling that, after December 1989, the KGB has not only not weakened its activity in Romania, but more than that, it has strengthened its activity. Likewise, we had the feeling that behind many of the puzzling events that have taken place during the past four years, one could sense the shadow of an institution for which the December 1989 events were an excellent opportunity to recover and expand its network in Romania. However, all this was simple suspicion. Now, after the sensational discovery in Washington, we have confirmation. The KGB had a man infiltrated in the vital core of the CIA and, through this, the vital core of the United States. The agent of the Moscow institution worked intensively for quite a long time, without any of the CIA suspicion-machinery having realized that the CIA is undermined from the inside. What can we say about Romania's poor secret services?! What can we say about all the other institutions of our current leadership?! The KGB succeeded in penetrating the CIA leadership. Can we believe so easily that it did not similarly succeed in the case of Romania? Romania, a country where the secret services have been established only recently. Romania, a country where certain people can be bought, not with one and a half million dollars, as was the case of the high CIA official, but with a thousand times less. People might say that I am not fair. That I do not take Romanian patriotism into consideration. These would be valid objections, had there not been a certain reality that every sensible person in Romania noticed. After December 1989, every time our country was about to take a decisive step toward the West, something cropped up in the domestic arena to stop it. Something that continued to keep Romania in a state of isolation that was wished by Moscow and thus by the KGB. Such events were: the miners' incursion in Bucharest, anti-Semitic attacks, and the distrust of certain dignitaries who viewed our integration in European structures favorably. Can anybody be really certain that, behind these bizarre facts, there are no people like Aldrich Hazen Ames?

Shell Hits Ambulance in Maglaj, Kills 4

AU0103103194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 1 March carries in its regular 10-minute newscast several reports on the continuing fighting in the republic. Reception is fair.

Describing the situation in Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "the town is still in shock after yesterday's massacre of civilians. A direct howitzer shot hit an ambulance killing four civilians and mutilating 11, three of whom were children." He says that "this was not enough for [Bosnian Serb military leader Ratko] Mladic's butchers, and the shelling of the center of Maglaj continued well into the night. Hundreds of howitzer shells and mortars landed on the town. One person was killed in the shelling." Sermic says that "the fierce shelling of Maglaj continues today. Early this morning the aggressor launched a powerful infantry attack on the southeastern part of the front, in the (Siprage)-(Strajista)-Lijesnica direction. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters repulsed this attack, but the aggressor has now launched a new attack, which is under way at the moment."

In his report from Brcko, Hamid Deronjic says that "another enemy tank has been destroyed on this front. The heavy concentration and increased movement of the enemy armored and mechanized vehicles, registered yesterday, enabled our fighters to score a few points. The artillery of the 108th Motorized Brcko Brigade again excelled, as yesterday afternoon at 1630 it fired a precise shot and completely destroyed a T-34 chetnik tank together with its crew. So yet another in the whole series of Serb tanks on the Brcko front has been turned into a heap of useless iron. During the night the aggressor fiercely shelled the defense lines and civilian targets on the free territory." Deronjic says that "there have been further clashes among various groups of the Serb aggressor's army on the Brcko front. Last night on the Cadjavac-Sumari direction the chetniks exchanged mortar and small arms fire."

Reporting from Bihac, Mirza Sadikovic says that "Bihac and Cazin suffered further destruction overnight. Insane, bloody, bestial—is there a word to describe the onslaught by chetnik multiple rocket launchers, howitzers, tanks, and Vis? Thousands of shells were fired overnight at [word indistinct], (Gornji Troholj), [words indistinct], and (Srdjani). The industrial zone of Bihac has been under the fiercest attack overnight and this morning." He says that "the chetniks attempted further breakthroughs but in vain as the heroes, the defenders, present an impenetrable wall. Milosevic and Karadzic must finally understand this."

Amila Salihbasic reports from Olovo that "the [Serb] enemy attacks continued last night. The largest part of the artillery that was withdrawn from around Sarajevo is now in use in the chetnik positions around Olovo." She says that "the first day of March has been marked by several mortar explosions, while enemy infantry has intensified small arms fire at the defense lines."

Sead Custovic reports from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps that "the population of the (Vrezani) area were woken up this morning by powerful explosions of chetnik heavy artillery shells. Early this morning the aggressor from (Sovrsko Brdo) fired dozens of shells from an ESP [not further specified], and 120-mm and 82-mm mortars at the region of Vrbovik. Soon the chetnik artillery in Podlugovi was activated, and a hill gun shelled (Podzupce). It must be stressed that certain positions from which shells are being fired are within the 20-kilometer zone around Sarajevo, from where the artillery pieces should have been moved long ago."

Civilian Attacks Continue

AU2802194794

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 28 February carries in its regular 45-minute newscast the following report on the fighting in the Republic.

Maglaj correspondent Hajrudin Sermic reports that "the chetnik rabble that, thanks to the visibility here, kills civilians whenever it wishes, is systematically destroying a people. They do not even stop at targeting ambulances, civilians, and residential areas. An unheard-of massacre occurred again today. The direct hit on a clearly marked ambulance van that was transporting seriously injured people to the hospital in Tesanj left four people dead, while 11 sustained severe injures."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Srebrenica and says that "the population's suffering continues, and the everyday postponement of the Canadian Battalion's exchange resembles a farce. We have learned from reliable sources that the exchange of UN Protection Force members in Srebrenica is being blocked by the Serbian aggressor's resolve not to allow more peace forces into Srebrenica than are currently in the town. Moreover, the aggressor is denying entry to the white tanks and helicopters that are part of the Dutch forces."

An unidentified correspondent from the 1st Corps Information Service reports that "although the large-caliber artillery has been silent today, the aggressor has continued violating the cease-fire on the Sarajevo front, which resulted in one member of our Army being injured. This morning, the chetniks in Mrkovici, Zecja Glava, and Mala Kula used antiaircraft and M-84 machine guns to target Orlic and Brekin Potok. Some time later, a portable rocket launcher from Gradina shelled Hotonje, while this afternoon antiaircraft machine guns again targeted Brekin Potok and Wilson's Setaliste. Chetnik snipers were also active, particularly those on Spicasta Stijena, Travnik Street, and the region of Ziga Kuca. A sniper bullet fired from Zica Kuca injured one of our defenders in Zabrdje."

Akashi Notes NATO Downed Planes

LD2802225094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2221 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, February 28 (TANJUG)—Special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general for former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said on Monday that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] had not been involved in today's action when four planes were downed over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was a NATO action, he said, which was carried out in agreement with the United Nations resolution on a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, Akashi told Croatian television.

Akashi said he had spoken to the commander of NATO's southern command who had assured him that the regular procedure had been respected.

Akashi said he had also contacted Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic, telling him that the incident should not be dramatised, and that efforts to establish peace should continue.

NATO combat planes on Monday downed four planes near Banja Luka, a city in the northwest of the Bosnian Serb republic. Neither NATO nor the U.N. could determine to which of the warring sides in Bosnia the downed planes had belonged.

Air Strikes Not To Affect UN Forces

AU0103115094 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 1 (AFP)—UN forces in Bosnia are planning to continue their operations without any major changes, despite NATO's downing of four Serb planes, a UN spokesman said here Tuesday.

UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Bill Aikman said there would be "no major change in our operations" after NATO planes Monday shot down four Serb jets bombing a factory in Novi Travnik in central Bosnia.

UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia British General Michael Rose had said Monday that the NATO intervention to enforce a no-flight zone over Bosnia should not affect the UN mission on the ground, which is a humanitarian, peacekeeping effort.

Aikman confirmed that jets had bombed Monday a second site, in Bugojno, 20 kilometres (12 miles) south of Novi Travnik, which is about 70 kilometres (42 miles) northwest of Sarajevo. He did not provide further details.

He said that while a ceasefire was generally holding in Sarajevo there had been "several incidents worth mentioning," namely reports of trench-digging by mainly Moslem government troops in attempts to advance their lines.

Aikman said one site of the advance was in the Jewish cemetery area in southern Sarajevo, a site where both French and Russian UN troops are present.

He said the attempted Bosnian advances had drawn rifle fire from Serb forces besieging Sarajevo and added that Rose was "very concerned (about the ceasefire violations) and will be taking it up with senior officials" on both sides.

He also reported that a Bosnian electrical repair crew had been shot at by Serb troops on Monday. Ukrainian UN troops protecting the repair mission had returned fire and a civilian bystander was wounded in the incident, he said.

A Moslem-Croat ceasefire in central Bosnia was "holding but that there were some incidents," he said. There was an "honest effort" by both sides, however, to observe the truce.

Aikman said that on Monday, 14 artillery rounds had fallen near Tuzla airport in northern Bosnia.

The airport has been shelled almost daily since UNPROFOR said in February that it planned to open it to humanitarian flights in March.

TANJUG on Meaning of NATO 'Message'

LD0103133394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Editorial by Stevan Cordas]

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG) - NATO's message, after the downing of four aircraft over Bosnia, should have been that someone was taught a lesson for violating the U.N. Security Council resolution on a no-fly zone, but the world media persist in accusing the Bosnian Serbs that the planes belonged to them although it is unclear exactly who was taught a lesson.

Twenty-four hours after two U.S. F-16s shot down four fighters over Bosnia early on Monday [28 February] morning, there are still no answers to pertinent questions such as: whose were the aircraft, from where did they take off and where did the two surviving aircraft land.

Despite this, the world media continues accusing the Bosnian Serbs by citing unnamed sources and presenting types of the downed planes allegedly in the possession of the Bosnian Serb Air Force only.

Compared to Monday's unison chorus, the world media are on Tuesday taking a somewhat more cautious view of the NATO action, maybe because NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said he is not certain that the downed aircraft belonged to the Bosnian Serbs.

U.S. Vice-President Al Gore said something along the same lines, thus indirectly denying a statement by President Bill Clinton who first said that in question are Serb planes, but later omitted the word "Serb."

NATO, who has monitored the no-fly zone over Bosnia since its imposition on October 1, 1993, has data showing a total of 1,400 violations.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) information clearly shows that the Bosnian Serbs are responsible for the least number of violations and that no aircraft have taken off from the sole Bosnian Serb airport, Banja Luka, since last October.

A number of mysteries have yet to be solved.

Firstly, how is it possible that NATO does not know from where the aircraft took off because it is hard to believe that its AWACS planes failed to record this.

If this is not the case, it is surprising that NATO has not announced what was filmed.

Despite this, a number of world agencies "uncovered" that the downed planes belonged to the Bosnian Serbs. They support these claims by unconfirmed reports that these aircraft attacked Travnik, although even neutral observers say that the Serbs have no reason to bomb this city in central Bosnia.

All these unresolved questions create the impression that NATO itself does not want to attach special meaning to the action over Bosnia.

Fate of Bosnian Serb Pilots Described

AU0103112294 Paris AFP in English 1100 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (AFP)—A pilot who flew one of the four Serb planes shot down by NATO warplanes over Bosnia ejected from his aircraft before it was hit and is safe, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said Tuesday [1 March].

His plane crashed in territory controlled by Bosnian Serbs between Kljuc and Sanski Most, about 60 kilometers (35 miles) west of Banja Luka, from where the Serb planes had flown out, according to the paper. It gave no other details on the pilot's whereabouts or condition.

The pilots of the three other craft are believed to have been killed when their planes were shot down early Monday during missions to attack Moslem positions, one crashing near Bosanski Petrovac and the other two near Mrkonjic Grad, both about 60 kilometers south and southwest of Banja Luka.

The paper said the plane that went down near Bosanski Petrovac had carried out its bombing mission over Bihac, a Moslem enclave in western Bosnia under siege by Bosnian Serbs, since it had no bombs on board when it crashed.

POLITIKA, which gave no sources for its information, said eight Bosnian Serb planes in all had taken off Monday morning but only five continued on with their bombing mission. The flights were in violation of a ban on military flights over Bosnia decreed by the United Nations in April 1993.

Bosnian Serb forces have denied that the planes shot down by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were part of their air force or that they had taken off from Banja Luka airport, where UN observers are posted.

The Belgrade-based TANJUG news agency meanwhile said the four UN observers assigned to monitoring Banja Luka airport were staying some 30 kilometers (20 miles) from the site and said their vehicles had recently been stolen.

Serbs Deny Report of Downed Planes

LD2802134794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1321 GMT 28 Feb 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, February 28 (TASS)—The command of the Bosnian Serb Army has categorically refuted a report that air force planes of the Serb Republic in Bosnia were brought down somewhere over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Our air force has only one airfield near Banja Luka, and military observers from the U.N. force have long been present there. They could have noticed the taking off of planes from that airfield without fail," a spokesman for the Serb command said in an interview with the TANJUG news agency.

The General Staff of the Yugoslav Army also emphatically rejected a possibility of four planes, brought down by NATO fighters, belonging to the Yugoslav Air Force.

Strictly following a resolution of the U.N. Security Council banning flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina, our air force planes made no flights in that air space. Since the creation of the union republic of Yugoslavia, not a single plane belonging to it has ever flown outside its air space, said a spokesman for the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

Meanwhile, according to reports of the Moslem Radio of Sarajevo, today in the morning military facilities in Moslem cities of central Bosnia were bombed by Croatian planes. The time of the bombing concides with the action taken by NATO fighter planes against planes of the Galeb type.

Commentary Views Serb Denial

AU2802215994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Commentary by Senad Durkalic]

[Text] There is no doubt that the planes downed west of Banja Luka were Serbian planes, although the Serbs—true to their custom—denied that this was so. The only

unclear point is why did the Serbs gamble with NATO's patience? Did they expect that they would again get away with their humorless jokes, or have they finally started paying the high price of their own mistakes? According to as yet unconfirmed information, the illogical bombing of Novi Travnik and Bugojno is a fresh Serbian ploy designed to pin the blame for the bombing on the Croatian aviation, which would result in fresh conflicts between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. This would definitely bury the cease-fire signed between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, and the chetniks—who else—would profit from this. In any case, the U.S. pilots have exhibited their resolve to implement the UN resolutions, which will perhaps finally force the Serbs to reconsider their megalomaniacal and bestial appetites. An intercepted radio message, transmitted a day before the bombing of Novi Travnik, and ordered by the Serbian units in Donji Vakuf, reads: Tomorrow six of our nightingales will sing the newly composed Serbian heroic song about Bugojno. Are we dealing with the carelessness of the Serbian ham radio operator, or yet another rusty screw in Mladic's propaganda machinery? It does not matter. What matters is that four [words indistinct] did not work in this case, because how could six sparrows harm two falcons?

Akashi on Downed Planes, Peace Talks

AU2802212494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Article by Omer Vatric from Mostar]

[Excerpt] I am deeply moved by the degree of damage in the eastern part of Mostar and the indescribable misery in which people are forced to live, but I am also touched by the courage with which they bear it. This is what UN Secretary General's special envoy Yasushi Akashi said at today's news conference, attended by over 50 foreign correspondents and cameramen, that was held during his visit to the eastern, free part of Mostar. During his two-hour visit to the eastern part of Mostar, Akashi talked to the president and members of the Mostar War Presidency, Smail Klaric, Safet Orucevic, Rusmir Tific, Alija Alikadic, and Zijo Zuljevic, as well as with Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps Commander Brigadier General Ramiz Drekovic.

Mostar is the first on the list of priorities, right after Sarajevo, since the situation in this city is in many respects a lot harder than in Sarajevo, stressed Akashi. The UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] are ready to extend maximal help, but they needs more troops. That is why Akashi is appealing to UN member states to authorize the deployment of fresh troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect, the agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], whose signing I witnessed in Zagreb, lends hope, said Akashi. Speaking about the conditions for the peaceful solution of the Mostar issue, Safet Orucevic acquainted Mr. Akashi and the attending correspondents with the five principles that the Mostar citizens would never give up on. They are: Mostar—an open and undivided city; Mostar—a part of the territory of the sovereign Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the return of all expelled citizens and the protection of private property; the punishment of all crimes and criminals on all sides; and direct participation in regulating the administration of the city. Mr. Akashi did not wish to comment on these principles for the public, at least not for the time being, he said.

The correspondents, however, showed the most interest in the new situation that had arisen after NATO downed four Serbian planes. Yasushi Akashi confirmed the news that the planes had been shot down, but it is interesting that he also said that he had been informed about this event after it happened. He explained that this was the usual procedure taken in implementing the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina. General Mike Boorda [as heard] confirmed in a telephone conversation that this procedure had been absolutely respected, said Akashi. He then expressed hope that this would not change the positive atmosphere aimed at reaching a peaceful agreement, and that the fragile cease-fire would hold. Everything else would represent a crime against the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect, Yasushi Akashi has already spoken to Karadzic, and as he told correspondents, believed that Karadzic agreed with him that this incident should not be turned into a case that would significantly influence the peace atmosphere so laboriously created in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After a brief press conference, Yasushi Akashi left for the western part of Mostar, which is controlled by the HVO, where he will talk to the Croatian side. [passage omitted]

Akashi Calls For More Troops in Mostar

AU2802202194 Paris AFP in English 2012 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 28 (AFP)—Special UN envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi on Monday called for more troops to be sent to Bosnia to end the "tragedy" in the southern city of Mostar.

"Sarajevo was a genuine tragedy, but the world should know that there are others, perhaps more serious tragedies in a city like Mostar," Akashi said as he arrived for his first visit here.

Some elements of an agreement that led to a ceasefire in Sarajevo had also been tried in an accord reached between Bosnian Moslems and Croats besieging the Moslem part of Mostar, he added.

The accord provides for an interposition of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] troops between the belligerent parties and the withdrawal of heavy weapons to between 20 kilometers (12 miles) and 10 kilometers (six miles) from the city by March 7.

Akashi said ceasefire agreements should be signed "in as many cities as possible. UNPROFOR is prepared to do its best, but we're short of troops."

In the Moslem-populated eastern sector of Mostar Akashi met with members of the city's "war presidency." "President" Smail Klaric said Mostar "will have to be an open and non-divided city" and be a "part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory." Croats have laid siege to the Moslem sector for the past nine months and have said they want to make the city the capital of a self-styled Bosnian Croat republic. Akashi is also to meet with Croat officials in the western sector.

No fighting was reported in the city Monday after shells rained down on the eastern sector Sunday in spite of Friday's ceasefire agreement.

Akashi Holds Talks With Herceg-Bosna Officials

LD2802185194 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, had talks in Mostar today with Ivan Bender, the president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic, and Slobodan Bozic, the head of the Government Office for Relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. Our correspondent Milan Sutalo reports on the talks:

[Sutalo] I feel that all the sides who are involved in this tragic conflict are now ready to make gigantic steps toward the cessation of hostilities and that they are ready to pay the price to restore a permanent peace. This conviction was expressed by Yasushi Akashi at the beginning of talks with his hosts, representatives of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Recalling the agreement that was signed in Zagreb by Generals Roso and Delic envisaging a cease-fire, withdrawal of heavy weapons, interposition of UNPROFOR, and the organization of a mixed commission that will be chaired by UNPROFOR, Akashi said that UNPROFOR was ready to enter this process, but it was necessary for all involved parties to cooperate. We also need additional forces, Akashi said.

I think we will get support from the United Nations and its member countries, but only when they are sure that the interested parties are ready to make steps toward peace. Akashi recalled the importance of the talks that are currently being held in Washington and New York, but also said that efforts toward peace were necessary to be made at the local level.

After we have alleviated the suffering of Sarajevo, Mostar should be the next town where the suffering of population ought to be alleviated. Therefore, I would like to hear what the Croat side is ready to do in Mostar for the restoration of peace.

From what we could hear at the beginning of the talks, which were open to public, we can fathom what the purpose of Akashi's visit to Mostar is. After that, the talks were held behind closed doors. Here is what Yasushi Akashi and Ivan Bender said following the talks:

[Begin Akashi recording, in English with superimposed translation] I have had very useful and productive talks here with Croat leaders in Mostar and I have received assurances of their full commitment to peace, I have heard their concerns that this peace might be too fragile. That is all the more reason, in my opinion, that we should join forces to make this peace more durable. We have to start with specific concrete steps toward a comprehensive peace. We will not be contented with peace in Sarajevo, which is important [break in transmission lasting for 1 minute 10 seconds]. [end recording]

[Begin Bender recording] We discussed the restoration of peace in Sarajevo. We do not demand the application of that kind of peace to Mostar alone: We demand that the same be done with Mostar, Banja Luka, and Tuzla. We will persevere in that. [end recording]

[Sutalo] Asked by a journalist, Yasushi Akashi commented on the NATO downing of the Serb aircraft.

[Begin Akashi recording] This was a NATO action in compliance with the Security Council resolution concerning the no-fly zone. I spoke with NATO Southern Command this morning which assured me that they had followed the established procedures. UNPROFOR was not involved in this action.

I also called Mr. Karadzic who was in Belgrade. He assured me that it was important for us not to overdramatize these kind of incidents. And we will continue to make efforts to restore peace, the process of which started in February, and we will try to extend it to other places and areas.

Izetbegovic on Maglaj, Serb Withdrawal, Aircraft

AU2802202694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] At the news conference held this evening for domestic and foreign correspondents, President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic made a short statement that we have just received.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I have called this conference because many events occurred today, and I am afraid that they might overshadow a very important problem—the problem of Maglaj. I wish to call your attention, and the attention of the public, to the issue of Maglaj, which for days now has been the target of brutal attacks and attempts at capturing the town. I appeal to you to write about this and to inform the public that the danger of Maglaj falling has still not been averted, despite the fact that we have undertaken all the measures on our part, both political and military ones in order to save the town. Namely, I fear that, due to events like the downing of the Serb planes, the violation of the Sarajevo

cease-fire, and the moving of the tanks [from the exclusion zone] by the Serbs. I fear that these events, the bombing of the Tuzla airport, and so forth, will overshadow [word indistinct]. The problem is that the Serbs might (?use this excuse) to undertake a decisive offensive on the town. You know that the Serbs have today pulled out at least six tanks, we do not know the exact number, it varies greatly from six to 20 tanks; therefore, there is a chance that the number of moved tanks is much greater. This means that the agreement to have the Serb weaponry moved from the outskirts of Sarajevo has been flagrantly violated. We have demanded from the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] that the tanks be returned or become a NATO target. This example shows that we were right when we demanded that the aggressor's troops should not be allowed to stay near the surrendered weaponry.

I want to stress one of the more positive things and that is that the cease-fire with the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] rebel forces is being gradually implemented. Of course, it is not complete, but we believe that it has every chance of being fully implemented. The situation is somewhat unclear with the 111th HVO Brigade whose behavior is still unclear [sentence as heard]. As you know, it is stationed on the southern access points to Maglaj.

Everything about the downing of the Serbian planes is known, and I have no particular comments on it, except that this is UNPROFOR's, that is, the United Nations' and NATO's first reaction after several hundred, maybe even more than a thousand, violations of the No Fly zone.

First, the reactions. The negotiations in Washington continue and they are in progress as we conduct this press conference. The final phase [changes thought] the negotiations could end tomorrow. Moreover, the finalization of the Sarajevo resolution is underway in the UN Security Council. [end recording]

British Army Unit Reportedly Entering Bosnia

LD2702113494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, February 27 (TANJUG)—An elite unit of the British army has been sent to Bosnia on a secret mission to discover Serb, Moslem, and Croat heavy artillery which could be targets of possible NATO air strikes, the London newspaper the SUNDAY EXPRESS said on Sunday.

Sixty members of the Special Air Service (SAS) force, who are experts in mountain warfare and know the local languages, entered Bosnia secretly 11 days ago. British Prime Minister John Major gave permission for the operation after consulting United Nations officials, said the SUNDAY EXPRESS, as carried by REUTERS.

The newspaper also said that initial reports by the commandoes had supported U.N. Protection Force Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, British General Michael Rose in his request for several thousand more peace-keeping troops.

Gen. Rose used to be a member of the SAS. He led an SAS regiment in the action to break the seige of the Iranian Embassy in London in 1980 and took part in a secret operation in the Falkland Islands during the war between Great Britain and Argentina in 1982.

UN Confirms Resumption of Aid Convoys

AU0103101694 Paris AFP in English 1006 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 1 (AFP)—In Geneva, UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond confirmed that the humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo would resume Tuesday after a day-long interruption following the NATO shooting down of four Serb jets.

He said a decision would be made shortly on when to resume the UNHCR land convoys crossing Serb territory to different points in Bosnia, which were also suspended Monday.

"We are receiving the security assessments from UNPROFOR and UN observers in Bosnia. The trucks are loaded and ready to go. There is a good chance that the convoys will also be going," he said.

More than 20 airlifts to bring supplies into Sarajevo were planned for Tuesday, he said.

Though the airlifts and land convoys through Serb territory were halted, a dozen other land convoys went ahead as scheduled from Metzkovic for different towns in central Bosnia.

Of the convoy blocked in Hadzici, Redmond confirmed it had been stopped in "Serb-controlled territory by about 100 women who were demanding the release of their husbands apparently detained by the government forces."

"We will try again today to reason with them and get things going. If we do, it will be the first time in many months that we will be able to use that road," he said.

In other developments, a prisoner exchange was made Tuesday between 128 Moslems who had been held by Bosnian Croats at Rodoc and 61 Croat prisonners detained in Jablanica, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva said.

The ICRC, which was supervising the exchange, said it had also started repatriating 200 displaced Croats, mostly women and children, who had been living in difficult circumstances in Jablanica. Most had asked to rejoin their families in Mostar, in southern Bosnia.

Women Block UNHCR Convoy Near Sarajevo

AU0103085094 Paris AFP in English 0828 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 1 (AFP)—A 12-truck Danish UNHCR convoy was held up overnight and still blocked Tuesday [1 March] from entering Sarajevo by Serb women demonstrating on a road, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski told AFP.

He said there were dozens of women asking for their husbands to be released from what they said was a Bosnian government concentration camp at Pazaric, also near Sarajevo.

The convoy, escorted by two UN Spanish armored personnel carriers, had arrived Monday afternoon in Serb-held Hadzici, 15 kilomtres (nine miles) southwest of Sarajevo. It took three hours to clear a Serb checkpoint there and then was held up by Monday evening by the women's demonstration.

Janowski said the blockade by civilians was similar to what has happened to UNHCR convoys trying to get into the Serb-besieged Moslem town of Maglaj in the north. That town has been cut off for months from humanitarian aid.

"We're trying to talk with them, reason with them. We hope for the best," said Janowski. "But it's certainly a problem," he added. Janowksi said Serb troops often checked the contents of UNHCR convoys.

The women's demonstration occurred shortly after the convoy had left the Serb checkpoint. The trucks spent the night overnight at a UN checkpoint, Janowski said.

UNHCR land convoys moving through Serb territory were suspended Monday as a security measure after NATO air attacks over central Bosnia. The Danish convoy had, however, already left Metkovic, in Croatia on the Adriatic coast. The UNHCR air lift to Sarajevo was resuming Tuesday after being suspended Monday, Janowski said. U.S. planes flying for NATO shot down four Serb jets over Vitez in central Bosnia Monday morning.

Janowski had said Sunday the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had decided not to negotiate the passage of convoys as it had been doing but simply to announce their routes to Bosnia's warring parties. But he said the convoys would not use force to drive through checkpoints.

Cease-Fire in Central B-H 'Generally' Holding

AU0103111694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 1 March carries in its regular 5-minute newscast several more reports on the fighting in the Republic. Reception is fair.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina 3d Corps Information Center reports that "the peace agreement between the Croatian and the Bosnia-Herzegovina sides which, to judge by yesterday's air raids by the chetnik air force and the shelling of Zavidovici and Bugojno, is a thorn in the side of Karadzic's Serbs, has generally been holding. The ustasha who do not want peace yesterday violated the cease-fire in the Busovaca region, where they fired one explosive device from the direction of Zega at Duboki Potok. They fired with a portable rocket launcher at the Gornji Vakuf defense lines. The ustasha snipers opened fire from Relej in the Novi Travnik area at the fire brigade that was putting out the fire caused by the chetnik air raid. The fire was eventually put out and there were no casualties. The ustasha violated the peace in the Vitez region with sporadic small arms fire at the defense lines. By the way, as part of the gradual implementation of the peace agreement, yesterday the experts from the UN Protection Force entered Stari Vitez and started clearing the mine fields around the access points to this town. The next move should be the erecting of checkpoints between Stari Vitez and Zenica. There were no ustasha attacks in the area of Zepca, but they have been cooperating with the chetniks in their own way. They have simply turned over most of the dominant and strategically important facilities around Zavidovici to the chetnik aggressor."

Reporting from Kalesija, Abdulah Ridjanovic says that "fierce aggressor's artillery attacks against the defense lines and the free territory continued yesterday. Over 200 shells were fired. The Tuzla airport was also targeted with tanks and howitzers, as was the village of Donje Vukovije, where large material damage was inflicted."

In his report from Zvornik, Nijaz Banjanovic says that "yesterday afternoon the chetniks from Klisa, Kitovnice, and Parloge launched a heavy artillery attack on the free Zvornik territory. Tanks, howitzers, and mortars landed on the civilians of Zaseok, Nezuk, and Kobilice. One woman was killed in the shelling. The night passed in provocative fire with antiaircraft weapons and small arms at the defense lines, while this morning the sniper activity from the surrounding hills has intensified against civilians."

Muslim Troops Using Tunnel Under Sarajevo

LD2602145494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 26 Feb 94

[Text] Prague, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslems late last week transported around two thousand of their soldiers to the battlefronts in central Bosnia through a tunnel under Sarajevo, the Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINI writes on Saturday.

The daily's special reporter quotes a British U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) officer, who asked not to be identified as saying that the Moslems have connected a tunnel under the Sarajevo airport in the southern section of the city with another in northern Sarajevo, whose locality as yet remains unknown.

Following a meeting with the UNPROFOR command, the same source said, the Moslem side agreed to place both tunnels under UNPROFOR's "discreet control," the daily says.

Bosnian Serbs several months ago warned that the Moslems had dug a tunnel under the UNPROFOR-controlled Sarajevo airport to be used as a conduit for arms and ammunition deliveries and transportation of troops.

However, Bosnian Serbs and Croats have for the past few days been stressing that the Moslem side has taken advantage of the Serb-Moslem ceasefire in the Sarajevo area to evacuate its troops and have them transferred to central Bosnia to help step up an offensive against Bosnian Croats.

Serbs Launch Heavy Attack on Bihac

LD2802224494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Report from Bihac by Mirza Sadikovic]

[Text] Multibarrel rocket launchers, howitzers, tanks, and mortars have been incessantly delivering fire and death throughout the day. The outlying districts of Bihac and Cazin are being systematically destroyed—Gornje Prekounje [words indistinct]. The extent of the damage is enormous. There is also a high number of casualties. Over 2,000 destructive shells have landed on the defenders' lines on the Grmusa-Grabez-[name indistinct] plain. There is hardly a square meter that has not been hit by at least one shell.

In addition to this the chetniks are continuously launching combined infantry-artillery attacks on an area on the Grmusa-Crnanjski plain along the Grmusa-Prpici-[name indistinct] line.

This hell has been raging on throughout this evening. The fighters of the 5th Corps have been putting up heroic resistance as fierce battles continue. Provocations are also continuing unabated along the demarcation lines with the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomous province. This has been compounded by mortar fire, especially this afternoon.

Attack on Tuzla Airport; Fighting in Maglaj

AU2802160794

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 28 February carries the following reports on the combat situation in the Republic.

The studio announcer introduces a report from the Zivince Press Center on attacks at Dubrave airport in Tuzla. An unidentified correspondent from the press center says that "the defense lines are exposed to sporadic provocations, while important buildings like Dubrave airport are the target of artillery attacks. Howitzer shells were launched from Drvenik at the wider area of Zivinice. Owing to this, a general alarm signal was sounded. The enemy attacks did not have any consequences and all the defense lines remain stable."

Maglaj correspondent Hajrudin Sermic reports that "the fiercest fighting, hand-to-hand fighting is in progress on the south and southeastern fronts, where the aggressors—vicious animals—are attempting infantry breakthroughs. Up to the time of filing this report, two women have been killed, while five civilians, three of them children, have been seriously injured."

Mirza Sadikovic reports from Bihac and says that "this morning, the chetniks once again viciously attacked the defenders' lines on Grabez, [name indistinct], Hasin Vrh, and the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau. They are again attempting breakthroughs in the region of the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau from the areas of Livaci, (?Brtnik), and (?Grmusa). Our defenders are resisting heroically." Provocations on the demarcation lines with the army of the so-called Kladusa autonomy have escalated since last night, particularly in the areas of (?Trst) and Pecigrad in the Cazin Commune. Since this morning, they are using mortars and are bringing in fresh forces and equipment.

Viktor Boban reports from Zavidovici and says that "an artillery attack from all of the aggressor's available arsenal began at 0900 [0800 GMT] this morning. The attack from the well-known chetnik positions was directed at the town center. Around 30 destructive shells, of which 16 were 122-mm howitzer shells, were fired in less than 40 minutes. The material damage in residential areas is immense. The morning hours on the Hajdarevici front were marked by fire from a chetnik Bofors. The situation is similar in Maholj, were the enemy is using antiaircraft machine guns."

Gorazde correspondent Fahrudin Bekic reports that "the chetniks continue with their dirty work. From their positions in Medena Glavica they used 82-mm mortars to pound civilian targets in Ogleceva. The usual provocations went on on the Rogatica route, while the enemy forces from Ustipraca used antiaircraft machine guns to target Gajevi. Provocations were also registered on the demarcation line toward Cajnice and Foca."

General Rose on Delayed Bridge Opening

AU2802134894 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 28 (AFP)—UN forces cancelled the opening set for Monday [28 February] of a bridge linking the Serb and Moslem sides of divided Sarajevo, UN British General Michael Rose told reporters.

The commander of UN forces in Bosnia said he had "an agreement in principle not in writing" with Bosnian Serb authorities and that he felt he needed a written agreement.

The Brotherhood and Unity bridge between the Serb-held Grbavica part of the Bosnian capital and the mainly Moslem rest of the city was to be opened to civilian pedestrian traffic. "I'm not going to push the issue on either side today," said Rose. "I'm afraid you'll all have to come back in a couple of days' time," he told reporters.

In Belgrade Sunday, Bosnian Serb General Manojlo Milovanovic said his troops would use force to stop the re-opening of Grbavica bridge. The cancellation left over 100 Sarajevo residents, who had come to the bridge, disappointed that they could not see or get news of loved ones in Grbavica they had not seen in some cases since the war began in April 1992.

Karadzic To Discuss Peace Process in Russia

AU2802211694 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, by Zeljko Avramovic at an unidentified airport on 28 February—recorded]

[Text] [Avramovic] Mr. Karadzic, you are leaving for Moscow to pay the first official visit after the triumphal return of Russian diplomacy to the world political scene. What aim does this visit have?

[Karadzic] This is an invitation, an official invitation to our delegation to come to have talks mostly about the peace process and the first visit will certainly pass mostly in further examining the possibilities of reaching peace; both peace in general and the one around Sarajevo, possibly around Tuzla regarding the opening of the airport, and so on. In a word, Russia is now much more present both in a diplomatic and a military sense and we are very pleased to be going to Russia.

[Avramovic] Whom are you going to meet in Moscow?

[Karadzic] Our hosts are Churkin and Kozyrev. We are certainly going to meet them and we shall see about the rest. So far, we do not know the plan.

Srpska Republic Joins FRY Financial System

LD2802151894 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] The Srpska republic is as of today a part of the unified financial system of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Vladimir Lukic, the Srpska prime minister, said after a meeting in Banja Luka with representatives of banks, the chamber of the economy, the customs administration, the economic institute, and large companies in the republic.

The Srpska republic's government has adopted all regulations from the program of financial reconstruction and economic recovery of Yugoslavia, Lukic said. He added that now it is only a matter of technical details as to when the new dinar would appear and become the only means of payment in the Srpska republic.

Radio Brod Stops Broadcasting

AU0103081794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 1 Mar 94

[Text] Radio Brod, The Right To Speak [pravo na rec], which had broadcast programs for listeners on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, stopped broadcasting at midnight last night. The reason for this is the suspension of financial aid by the European Union.

RSK Army Says No Flights Made 28 Feb

LD2802211394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Knin, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—In connection with the downing of the planes by NATO in the airspace of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina announced this evening that no aircraft belonging to that republic had taken off today.

"The aircraft of the air force of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] made no training or any other flights, and no flights had been scheduled," a short statement from the main headquarters says.

UNPROFOR, RSK To Control Bridge

AU2702162094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 94

[Report by Jovan Vlajkovic]

[Text] As of 0800 tomorrow, one soldier of the Serbian army of Krajina and one member of the ministry of internal affairs of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] together with the members of the Nepalese Battalion of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] will control the crossing of the RSK state border on the Bridge of Serbian Unity.

This is a result of an agreement between [UNPROFOR] General Jean Cot and General Milan Celeketic, reached today on the bridge itself. They also discussed other similar locations in the RSK; however, the details were left to future negotiations.

According to General Jean Cot, the entire situation concerning the bridge should not have reached the dimensions it did. All future disputes will be resolved through talks. It is not the first time that I have talked with General Celeketic. Knowing him, I am sure that all misunderstandings will be resolved through negotiation.

NATO Seen Deferring to Russia Over Bosnia

AU2802125994 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 94 p 2

[Commentary by Frane Plancic: "One NATO—Two Bosses"]

[Text] It might seem absurd at first sight that the NATO ultimatum for Bosnia can be carried out only if V. Churkin replaces M. Woerner as the secretary general of this military alliance. In fact, Churkin should already be recognized in his acquired status of NATO secretary general. If he were secretary general, everything would go smoothly, as in these days! There would be no quarrels. Even the large intelligence scandal which broke out when a Russian agent was found in the CIA leadership would be resolved in a quiet and civilized way.

If Churkin were NATO secretary general, it is certain that he would be able to reach the same attitude of all NATO members toward the aggression against civilians and UN Protection Force members as is the case with the present secretary general. He would also withdraw in the same realistic way as Woerner did when the time came for firing on the aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And in Croatia? Since nobody mentioned Croatia in the ultimatum, Croatia can only be a topic for an academic discussion.

Let me summarize: Nobody would notice any external manifestation of absurdity in Churkin's leading NATO. It is possible that somebody notices certain internal manifestations of it at the moment when every member of the alliance expresses its aims openly. France and Britain have stopped NATO actions hundreds of times so far, so that Russia, the main post-Cold War ally—as this is expressed in Washington—should be given this possibility, too.

Simulating the Ultimatum

This time the Russian counterultimatum was respected; NATO gave up announced air strikes in the name of the strategy of political negotiations. The efforts for peace allegedly rose after the military threat had been expressed to both Bosnian Serbs and Belgrade.

So, let us see how Serbs are coping with these negotiations.

They are threatening with both weapons and words. Everybody who hoped that something else would happen is a "first-class" political dilettante.

Belgrade, which should have been shaken by the NATO threats, is still self-confidently stating that it will not approve of opening of the Tuzla Airport, neither for peace nor for war purposes. NATO has issued an ultimatum that the airport must be opened on 7 March. We shall see how NATO will respond to the latest refusal from Belgrade, but we can already be sure that NATO's reaction will be of the Churkin type.

The Churkin-type reaction has already been seen in a more dangerous incident than the possible one with the Tuzla Airport—when Chetniks occupied the Sava Bridge between Stara Gradiska and Bosanska Gradiska. The local UN Protection Force (allegedly protected by the NATO ultimatum) were humiliated and expelled from their positions, their houses for monitoring were destroyed.... Approximately 20 Serbian tanks and armored vehicles (withdrawn from Sarajevo?) came so close that they can cross the Croatian border at any time (that is to say the occupied territory, but still a part of Croatia according to what NATO, the UN, and all others say). At the request of the UN Protection Force NATO aircraft are now flying over this territory and simulating the ultimatum. They are simulating it in the real sense of the word since Croatia is not mentioned in the text of the ultimatum, so that it cannot be included in its Churkin-type implementation.

An act of simulation was also made the day before yesterday in response to a Serbian artillery attack on Swedish UN Protection Force members near Vares.

NATO aircraft arrived in the area in which five Swedish soldiers were wounded and concluded that it could not be established who fired. Since they had a clear conscience they returned home, leaving the possibility open that either Serbs or Muslims could have fired—or perhaps the Swedish soldiers themselves—just as it was imputed to Muslims that they shot at the people in the Sarajevo market.

If NATO aircraft were flying over Maslenica, Kasic, Paljuv, or Peruca in these days, they would not be able to see who is shooting there either. They would return home peacefully, leaving the possibility open that the Croatian Army was shooting at its own positions. As if it were not known that it was the Croatian president himself who ordered the attack on the presidential palace in Zagreb during the war in Croatia!

Serbs Are Going On With Incidents

Churkin, as the acting NATO secretary general, could be confronted with unpleasant situations, though—like the one when a Serbian officer was caught by cameras in an action which violated the ultimatum (if there is something like that at all). The incident happened two days ago [22 February] in front of CBS cameras at the place where Serbian artillery weapons were being collected under the supervision of the British UN Protection Force. A Serbian officer came there with a truck, took one of the collected guns (a mountain gun, of the B-1 type), attached it to the truck, and drove away in front of UN monitors. He was stopped by British UN Protection Force soldiers at the exit, though (they are professionals, and, apart from that, cameras were there). General Rose, the UN Protection Force commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, was called, and he ordered his soldiers to return the gun to the marked area. A British officer said that there were still five or six Serbian guns on the surrounding hills. Nobody attacked them from the air, and we do not know anything about them.

Such incidents and serious attacks by Serbian artillery are going on in the area between Bihac and Tuzla, from Maslenica to Gradiska. This means that the whole territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and parts of Croatia are affected. What can be concluded from this?

It is quite obvious that the NATO ultimatum has not taken effect. That is why there are no political negotiations which should have followed from it. Churkin's engagement and enumeration of Serbian incidents are the only two things which have been noticed so far. Churkin and the Serbs are both led by the idea to undermine a NATO intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It could be easily predicted that this idea would be carried out in this way. It is being openly carried out in the occupied Croatian territories and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Encouraged by the success of the Russian counter-ultimatum, Serbs are going on with incidents in all occupied territories (which are too large for a concentrated NATO action) using small weapons (a too cheap goal for setting the whole NATO machinery in motion) and selecting those targets which are not directly mentioned in the ultimatum (so that NATO does not have the "legal" basis for an action)....

Their aim is evident—to preserve as much occupied territories as possible though unsanctioned military actions. They have enough time and military power to do this. Apart from that, they have the political blessing from Russia which claims that it will not allow any further ultimatums for Bosnia.

Official Views Border Disputes With Slovenia

AU2402190494 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 94 p 5

[Interview with Hrvoje Kacic, head of the State Commission for Borders, by Vado Rajic; place and date not given: "The Sovereignty of Croatia Must Not Be Jeopardized"]

[Text] Just a couple of days after Croatia and Slovenia signed a package of intergovernmental agreements, a mixed commission for borders met in Bled. Is there any symbolism in that, considering the complexity of Croat-Slovene relations? For, until now, those border conflicts were presented as the cause of strained or tense relations between the two countries. The new head of the Croatian delegation in that intergovernmental body, Hrvoje Kacic, talked to VJESNIK about the reverberations and effects of the Bled meeting.

[Kacic] First of all, one can get the impression that we are starting from zero in state-border matters as well. That is only partly true. Indeed, the work of the commission was interrupted and the break was unnecessarily long. The Croatian side of that body has, in the meantime, changed quite a lot. I succeeded Davorin Rudolf almost three months after he stopped leading the Croatian delegation, because of other obligations. There are other new members of the delegation. Introducing new participants to the achieved level of the negotiations took time. Expert groups did much to help that introduction and, relying upon cartographic data, they did much of the work. Out of 252 cartographic charts, the data were precisely determined in 206 of those zones, so as not to open any other additional questions that would have to be discussed at a political level. Even in the remaining 46 cartographic zones, it is possible to determine the mutual border without difficulty in most cases. However, in some areas, experts will not be able to solve all the open questions alone. Diplomatic commissions will take up the work that the experts are not able to.

Facts and Consequences

[Rajic] The impression that you are starting from zero was also supported by the content of the Bled meeting, where rules of procedure of the mixed commission was the only item on the agenda.

[Kacic] Rules of procedure are a technical aid in our work. The effectiveness of our future work depends on determined rules of procedure. Your remark is correct in that the basic principle of rules of procedure is consensus, that is, the agreement of both delegations on every question. Consequently, we will have to invest a lot of time and effort to coordinate mutual interests and views. Internal and foreign affairs experts, geodesists, and experts on international public law are entrusted with determining the facts. Parliament has the final say. From the level of experts and the diplomatic commission to parliament, there are many extremely important participants in that work. The foreign minister, the prime minister, the government in its entirety, and even the president of the republic will definitely participate in solving open questions that cannot be agreed on the level of mixed commission, that is, its diplomatic part.

[Rajic] Is it true that, at the press conference held during the break of the Bled meeting, one could see differences with regard to principles on which the two sides intended to work in establishing their joint border? The Croatian side advocated a mixed principle of various criteria for establishing the border, while the Slovene side insisted on the data which contain geodesic charts of areas of the joint Slovene-Croat border.

[Kacic] Such an interpretation, even showing the alleged conflict of principles, is a simplification of what has been done in the commission. After all, we did resume work, which already disproves the hypothesis that there was a conflict about principles. I have mentioned information that makes it obvious that a good part of the job was done. Furthermore, recent statements of [Prime Ministers] Valentic and Drnovsek, though made at the declarative level, contain the principles in question. All this shows that the two sides are gradually getting closer. The impression of the press, on the other hand, advocates the absolutization of just one principle and becoming a slave to it, which I am convinced would never produce a good or final result. For our task is not only to establish the facts but also to predict the consequences, should any of the principles be applied to every single open question. Therefore, giving the principles a special status is out of the question, for we must still establish the facts, whose content will reconcile the represented principles.

Without Conflicts Only With Hungary

[Rajic] Speaking about impressions, here is another one: Is it true that the outcome of negotiations on the state border in the Bay of Piran will determine the outcome of the entire border problem between Croatia and Slovenia?

[Kacic] The Bay of Piran is undoubtedly one of the main points of these negotiations. It is also true that this is the main bone of contention in the present work regarding borders. However, in order to solve that question, we must finish the work on the land border and say where it comes out, at which point, to the Bay of Piran. I think we should proceed as follows: We must first solve the question of who controls the Bay of Piran. It is not an ambition of Croatia to change the name of the bay, but the name itself says that is an area in which the Slovene interest is more intensively present. Moreover, I do not believe that, in addition to Croatian maritime resources in, for example Limski Kanal, Croatia has any interest for the shells in the Bay of Piran itself.

However, one advantage of the Slovene negotiating team has hitherto escaped our notice. Slovenia borders four countries: Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Croatia. It does not have any border disputes with the first three countries, so it seems that it has a problem only with "the bad guys from Croatia," for border conflicts exist there. Croatia, on the other hand, has no border conflict only with Hungary. With regard to all other borders, from Slovenia to Serbia, from Bosnia to Montenegro, Croatia will have to put much effort into solving all the problems and settling the border disputes.

Furthermore, one must have some understanding for the Slovene side, which used to have the right of tramp navigation to the open sea from its part of the coast. According to the government that became effective after Croatia and Slovenia gained independence, the territorial waters of Croatia and Italy were connected, because of the configuration of the area and the proximity of the Italian and Croatian coasts. Naturally, that imposes certain limitations. The quality of navigation for ports in the Slovensko Primorje [Slovene Riviera], according to the valid norms of the Convention on the Law of the Sea, grants the so-called right of inoffensive way, and that is different from the regime of tramp navigation. Those who are responsible for solving that problem must find a solution that would not make our Slovene neighbors claustrophobic. I do not think that is in the interest of Croatia either. But the sovereignty of Croatia on its territory must not be jeopardized.

[Rajic] In that context, what does the demand for preserving the integrity of the Bay of Piran mean?

[Kacic] In my opinion, it is significant as being a future solution that will be established by determining all the elements of Slovene and Croat interests, which will be our connecting point. For, the Bay of Piran and the choice of solutions acceptable to both sides puts both Croatia and Slovenia to the test, testing their maturity and readiness to become part of Europe. I, therefore, do not accept that even now, before ending the discussion, we should refer to final solutions as if it were really not possible to reach an agreement.

Arbitration Is Unacceptable

[Rajic] Do you also think arbitration is one of the final solutions?

[Kacic] I think it is pointless to talk about arbitration at this stage, although it was mentioned long ago in the work of this commission. As far as I have grasped the content of open questions in mutual demarcation, I understand that asking someone else to settle our dispute would prove the lack of maturity of one or the other, or both countries, and their inability to evaluate all the relevant circumstances of this sensitive matter.

[Rajic] To what extent does a positive political atmosphere in relations between the two countries influence the work of the border commission?

[Kacic] That is a great help in this stage of our work. Our commission is not only the first joint body to convene after the Valentic-Drnovsek package, but we also scheduled another meeting "somewhere in Croatia" for 17 and 18 March. Both the Croatian and the Slovene side refused to solve problems by postponing them. Especially as, in those "postponed circumstances," we run the risk of possible incidents, even verbal incidents with regard to where our border begins and where their border ends. I can laugh at, become sad about, or get furious about the expression "Alpine Croats," with which our Slovene neighbors sometimes treat themselves, having a clearly defined goal in mind. The same reaction is possible regarding the expression "Slovene Istria," as a replacement for the hitherto common terms for Slovensko Primorje, Slovene Riviera, and so on. How to react to "Slovene Istria"? By mentioning Hrvatine ["Hrvat" means Croat], the first village that one passes through after entering Slovenia from Italy? Will either side be trying to gain some advantage on that level?

[Rajic] Is the fact that you were appointed head of the Croatian negotiating delegation and head of the State Commission for Borders, which is attributed to your political "color," on that level too, and has the fact that you are actually an expert with years of experience, that you have many academic degrees in that field, been neglected?

[Kacic] Yes, it is something like that, for one is speculating about my status as an independent candidate at the first elections, my status as a deputy, some alleged offers for state functions and the like. It is all partly true, but the other part makes it relative. For example, as an independent candidate in Dubrovnik, at that time I would not have succeeded without the support of both the Croatian Democratic Community and other, then opposition, parties.

Regarding my expertise, let me tell you this. My entire professional career has been dedicated to maritime law, but mostly in the domain of commercial relations. What I am entrusted with in this case obliges me to study the problem thoroughly. Therefore, it is not something I could use to praise myself.

Serbian Intelligence Services Join Forces

AU2802141794 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 94 pp 14-15

[Article by Boris Komadina: "Marriage of All Serbian Spies in Plitvice"]

[Text] As Zeljko Simic, vice chairman of the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was explaining at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zagreb to numerous journalists that Croatia and Serbia (Yugoslavia) would come closer, a meeting of far more concrete intentions was being held approximately 70 km southwards—probably as a proof of the Serbian sincerity. In the national park of Plitvice, which was occupied and devastated by the Serbs, an agreement on joint activities of the intelligence and counterintelligence services of "all Serbian countries" was signed. Translated into normal language, this means that intelligence services from the Serb-occupied regions in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are now connected with their principals in Yugoslavia. According to this agreement the joint intelligence service would have four divisions: for foreign contacts, for analysis and research, the operative division, and the external security division. The headquarters will be in Pancevo, which was in the former Yugoslavia known as the center for education of intelligence officers. There will be "branch offices" in Banja Luka, Pale, Knin, and Petrinja. The so-called "branch offices" will consist of groups of about 12 officers: a commander, a coordinator, and an adviser for artillery, infantry, and air force. Each of the "branch offices" will be led by a coordinator, whose task will be to cooperate with the "headquarters." There will also be a joint coordinator who will at the same time be the leader of the intelligence services of the "Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina" and of the "republic of Serbian Krajina." Bosko Kelecevic obtained the position of coordinator in Croatia. Only several days before the meeting in Plitvice the representatives of SVR, the newly established Russian intelligence service, allegedly visited Knin. According to the protocol about joint activities between the intelligence services, it was decided to reorganize the intelligence service in order to "efficiently achieve short-term and long-term strategic and safety interests as well as the internal and external security." The agreement was signed in the presence of General Aleksandar Dimitrijevic, the head of the military intelligence service of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Radenko Radinovic, his assistant for the counterintelligence service. Generals Bosko Kelecevic, Milan Gvero, and Milisav Gagovic also participated in the meeting.

This event, about which some Belgrade and Slovene (!) newspapers published short reports, means that the reorganization of the Belgrade intelligence services, which have been shaken by many scandals and internal conflicts between Yugoslav and Serbian officers, has been completed. The victory of the "hard" line is confirmed by the fact that General Bosko Kelecevic has been appointed head, in other words the "main intelligence

service coordinator" between the so-called "Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina" and "Serbian Krajina."

Kelecevic Moved to Slunj

The newly established "boss" of all Serbian spies, Mr. Bosko Kelecevic was born 42 years ago in Bosanski Aleksandrovac, a small place between Banja Luka and Bosanska Gradiska. After having completed the education for noncommissioned officers, he continued his education at the Military Academy in Belgrade. He specialized in artillery. He spent the major part of his military training in Krizevci, Croatia. He is married to a Croatian national and has twin sons. In 1971 he entered KOS, the intelligence service of the former Yugoslav People's Army (this is the abbreviation, but the full name of the service was The Security Department of the Federal Ministry of National Defense). He became the head of the Security Department in the Fifth Military Region in 1987. His activity covered Slovenia and almost all of Croatia. At the beginning of the aggression against Croatia he participated in numerous negotiations with Croatian authorities. Together with the majority of the commanders in the Fifth Military Region he moved with his family from Zagreb to Slunj in May 1991. His boss, General Zivota Avramovic, joined him there somewhat later. He performed the same tasks in Slunj. In October 1991 he moved to Mrakovica, on the Kozara Mountain, and then to Sarajevo at the end of 1991. In Sarajevo he joined the Second Military Region led by the notorious General Kukanjac. At the time when the army of Bosnian Serbs was being formed, in April and May of 1992, he was appointed chief of staff of the First Krajina Corps, which was led by Momir Talic. The corps was situated in Banja Luka. He was promoted to the general rank.

Boss—A Typical Noncommissioned Officer

Those who met Bosko Kelecevic during his service in Zagreb say that he is a typical noncommissioned officer, a man thoroughly loyal to and indoctrinated by the ideas of his superiors. The word of his superiors has the power of law for him. His activities in the war against Croatia are vague. He did not distinguish himself anywhere except in the region of Bosanska Posavina, where he fought for the preservation of the corridor there under the command of Talic and Lisica. People who know him well say that he is a better artillery man than an intelligence officer. They claim that he substitutes a lack of intelligence skills by his excellent feeling for organization and exceptional energy. His greatest success in the intelligence war in Croatia is considered the development of a widely spread network of intelligence officers. He infiltrated them by issuing journalists' cards for them, a well-known method. Although he has not gone through all necessary stages in the training of intelligence officers, his promotion was very quick. This is explained by his good connections to the former first man of KOS, Mr. Aleksandar Vasiljevic.

The information from the meeting in Plitvice is opening a new chapter of questions about the intelligence war waged in occupied Croatian territories. Three intelligence organizations from Belgrade are active in the occupied Croatian territories: The Intelligence Service of the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia General Staff, the Department of the State Security of the Army, and the Department of State Security of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia. Well-trained officers work in these organizations, they have a long tradition and are well equipped. Some of the officers are distinguished professionals, such as Radenko Radinovic and Mr. Dimitrijevic, who learned their profession through all the stages of education at the Security Department. In the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia there are professionals such as Jovica Stanisic, the head of this service, and Franko Simatovic-Frenki, the officer in charge of connection with the occupied territories in Croatia. Their main task is to decode the Croatian Army movements and to collect data necessary for taking actions.

Work Among Muslims

The fact that Serbian intelligence officers became united—regardless of how dangerous this might seem at first sight—is nothing new. The main "coordinator" is still situated in Belgrade, so that the alleged conflicts among the local bosses in the occupied Croatian territories are in fact only a tactic of the Belgrade intelligence services, which still have full control of the so-called Krajina. In the last two years, during the war between Croatian and Serbian intelligence officers, there have been many struggles which mostly resulted in Croatian victories. The final outcome will, however, depend on who has the larger number of professionals and better organization and equipment. The greatest Serbian success is considered the infiltration of Serbian intelligence officers into Muslim circles who allegedly contributed to the war between Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

There is the impression, however, that the formal merger of all Serbian intelligence services primarily has political rather than professional, "spying" functions. After this merger, there followed the monetary union. According to some information the armies of "all Serbian countries" should become united in March 1995. Is not this yet another proof of Serbian sincerity when it speaks about the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia?

Demirel Repeats Readiness To Aid Country

AU2802200794 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 28 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov's Message to Demirel"]

[Text] The President of the Republic of Turkey Suleyman Demirel received in Ankara the Macedonian Ambassador Trajan Petrovski. The latter delivered a message from the Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and informed Mr. Demirel on Macedonian economic losses due to the latest embargo imposed by a Greek Government decision.

President Demirel repeated Turkey's readiness to aid Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] in its efforts to cope with difficulties.

Gligorov Denies Territorial Aspirations

AU2802200694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 28 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Macedonia Keeps Its Name"]

[Text] At the large gathering in Kumanovo, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of forming of the Third Macedonian Brigade, President Gligorov stated among other things: "We are very much interested in building friendly relations and cooperation with all our neighbors, based on neighborly cooperation and in the interest of the peace and stability in the region. That permanent determination of ours can not be threatened by various blockades, political and economic pressures, like the recent decision of the Greek Government to close its border and its Thessalonike port for our goods. Just like before, we firmly stand up to all pressures and will not allow any one to deny us the name we have had with centuries. Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] survives and will go on surviving. We have no territorial aspirations towards any of our neighbors, and therefore not towards our southern one, either. That is why we propose, with a clear conscience, to sit down and discuss all the differences between our two countries, on an equal basis."

Gligorov Views Relations With Greece, Serbia

AU0103093094 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 94 pp 11-13

[Interview with Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Who Is Worried About Macedonia?"]

[Text] In the memoirs of those who, several years ago, negotiated on behalf of Europe about the future of the former Yugoslavia, one can perceive that a general conviction was that Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was the only reasonable and tolerant negotiator of all the former Yugoslav leaders.

Because of the stubborn resolve that Macedonia ought to observe the interests of other countries as well, Gligorov has often been accused by certain circles in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] of subservience and of having an insufficiently patriotic policy. His Balkan neighbors also dislike many things about him. Several days ago Athens officially accused him of living outside reality, other neighbors claim that nothing has been definite and certain about Macedonia, certain areas of Macedonian territory are being more or less openly claimed, whereas certain scientific symposiums are being announced at which the Macedonian issue is supposed to be definitely solved.

Quite logically, our conversation started with President Gligorov commenting on U.S. recognition of Macedonia.

[Gligorov] This recognition is undoubtedly very important for us, because the United States is the only superpower in the world today, and the dominant member of the UN Security Council and other international organizations—both civil and military. Until now, all recognitions by the European Union, the United Nations, and China were subject to speculation that they carry no real weight until the United States recognizes Macedonia, that is, that the events in the Balkans might possibly evolve in a different direction. This recognition is a precondition for us to take part in all future negotiations as a subject, given the international recognition of the Macedonian entity. You will understand what this means if you look back in history, starting from the Balkan wars to the two world wars, and see that in all those events the Macedonians were too impotent to influence negotiations about the status of Macedonia. Now that practice of others making decisions about our destiny has ceased.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that what follows is only a technical part of the recognition of the new position of Macedonia?

[Gligorov] Now, the admission of Macedonia into the CSCE is a very important step. There are no obstacles to this in terms of our meeting the conditions for membership. All the reports by the relevant bodies, including the CSCE itself, are quite positive that Macedonia fulfills all the conditions, and that it should be admitted as a full member. Albania opposed the proposal for a while, but now it is only Greece that opposes it. The essential meaning of admission into the CSCE is entry into the system of collective security, whose character is predominantly political. CSCE membership would create the possibility for us to join the the "Partnership for Peace" project.

[Correspondent] What does the presence of foreign troops in Macedonia mean, not only for Macedonia, but also for the entire region? For instance, Milovan Djilas [Serbian dissident] recently said in an interview that Macedonia has remained Macedonian thanks solely to the arrival of foreign troops.

[Gligorov] The history of this issue is as follows: First, the arrival of UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force]in Macedonia was a result of our own initiative. We considered that it would be good, with regard to the entire situation in the southern Balkans, if preventive, rather than classical, peacekeeping forces were deployed in Macedonia. Until they came to Macedonia, peacekeeping troops had never prevented armed clashes, or contributed to the prevention of such clashes. Moreover, until then, the United States had not taken part in such actions at all. The UN secretary general became interested in that idea, and later on deployed a small contingent of 1,000 soldiers, without U.S. troops. Troops from the Scandinavian countries came first, which we welcomed as a good choice. U.S. troops were only deployed later, which means that their presence here is not an arbitrary act on the part of the U.S. Government, but rather the result of the mandate that was given to them by the United Nations. Still, I have to repeat, the novelty is only that, until now, the United States has never taken part in peacekeeping actions in the region, nor put their troops under another command, as in the Macedonian case. In the U.S. Congress the issue was seriously discussed and there were many arguments, but eventually it was agreed that 300 soldiers in Macedonia should be put under the command of the officers appointed by the United Nations, serving within UNPROFOR.

[Gligorov] I am saying all this just because there are frequent remarks and claims that the U.S. forces in Macedonia are quite independent and have been deployed in compliance with a special agreement. The deeper and more profound reason for their presence here, even if it involves only a symbolic 300 troops, is undoubtedly an expression of the U.S. desire to prevent the spreading of the Balkan conflict further south. From their point of view, the involvement of Macedonia in the conflict would mean a war on the borders of a NATO member country, namely Greece.

That would entail the danger of involving all Macedonia's neighbors in the conflict, that is, other NATO member countries. That would have far-reaching consequences for the United States, even for its strategic interests. It would be far more dangerous than the war in Bosnia, which is still a confined war, although it has shaken Europe and influenced many events in the world. At least for the time being, provided that the war does not spread south, the war in Bosnia has not yet brought about the consequences that a conflict on the southern wing of the NATO Alliance might cause.

The second reason for such a dedicated U.S. engagement lies, I think, in the fact that Macedonia shows by its own example that it is possible to solve inter-ethnic problems without arms. I am not idealizing anything, but we are living proof that inter-ethnic tolerance and cooperation is possible. To cut a long story short, I think that, although the number of troops stationed here is relatively small, their presence carries a clear message to anybody that it may concern should the conflict spread to Macedonia. It is much more a political than a military warning.

[Correspondent] At the beginning, the demilitarization of Macedonia was quite frequently considered. Why was it abandoned?

[Gligorov] Yes, this idea was present, but in the meantime we had to do what is necessary, that is, to place our army on the borders. After that, it was logical that we demanded assistance from the international community, particularly since at the time Macedonia was not internationally recognized to the extent that it is now.

[Correspondent] International observers have been deployed along Macedonia's northern and western borders. Recently you have stated that one should base one's judgment about Belgrade's intentions toward Macedonia on whether Macedonia is recognized or not. In that context, how do you view various scenarios for the future of Macedonia?

[Gligorov] The fact is that war is being waged to the north of Macedonia, and that the danger of it spreading exists. There is also the problem of Kosovo. Still, regardless of all that, I do not think that Macedonia is directly endangered by Serbia. However, as long as the war goes on, and as long as the problem of Kosovo is unsettled, potential danger will always exist.

Precisely because of all this, I am convinced that such dangers would be diminished, or removed, by the mutual recognition of the FRY and Macedonia.

[Correspondent] Has there been any initiative in that respect on your part?

[Gligorov] I encouraged that idea in an interview, and I particularly discussed it with President Milosevic during our meeting in Ohrid last year. I pointed out that mutual recognition is necessary for many reasons, and since there is no conflict between Macedonia and Serbia or any territorial claims on either side—at least none has ever been officially stated—there are no major obstacles for our two countries to recognize each other, while it is a completely different matter what ideas and forces exist. Finally, the fact is that the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] agreed to withdraw, and there were no incidents while it was withdrawing.

In view of all this, and in view of the general mood in Macedonia, and I believe in Serbia as well, I think that mutual recognition would be welcomed. I underlined even earlier that two things are very important for relations between Macedonia and Serbia: Serbia's recognition of Macedonia and the Macedonian people in 1944, and the agreed withdrawal of the JNA from Macedonia. Both imply mutual recognition as a logical consequence, and the beginning of the development of mutual relations in all fields. On the other hand, I think that recognizing Macedonia would be very advantageous for the FRY, because it would eliminate any suspicion

that the conflict might spread to the south, that is, that the FRY has some hidden interests, which are now mentioned only in certain speculation about the future course of events in the Balkans. Then the problem of Kosovo would show itself in a completely different light, as a problem that is an affair of the FRY in the first place. Because, as long as there are fears that the war might spread to the south, speculations about some pan-Albanian settlement for the region will exist. In fact, that settlement sustains the forces in other former Yugoslav republics that support the establishment of greater nation states. In that respect, Macedonia has been an exception, because since the very beginning we have publicly maintained that the Macedonian state is possible only within its current borders. Everything else is an adventure and a disaster.

[Correspondent] The reaction of Greek Prime Minister Papandreou to the news of U.S. recognition of Macedonia was to accuse you of living out of reality, or rather, of being unable to comprehend all the possible consequences. How do you see your future relations with Greece?

[Gligorov] I view them only in terms of negotiations, regardless of whether those negotiations deal with our relations in general, or with what has been happening these days, while it is precisely such daily platforms that we have been witnessing that reveal where a different attitude on our part would lead. We have plenty of good will, we are ready to discuss any subject, and I think that the initial mistake was made precisely because we failed to follow this course. Our attitude will prove that many things that appear to be complex are, in fact, easy to solve. For instance, it is ridiculous to maintain that Macedonia has any pretensions to any Greek territory. The Greeks are constantly demanding guarantees from us on the unchangeability of the borders, while we are constantly repeating, parrot fashion, to them that the borders are definite. We have proposed a bilateral agreement on this, and if necessary we are even ready to sign it at any time, even with guarantees by the European Community [EC], or the United Nations.

The Greek path to Europe leads through Macedonia, while our path to the rest of the world leads through Greece, not to mention other mutual interests. Why should we disregard our mutual interests, and keep up the current conflicts that are in many ways imaginary, emotional, and encumbered with certain interpretations of the historical heritage on both sides?

In our approach I see the reality of Macedonian policy. Besides, I think that the character of that policy can also be seen in the fact that the Macedonian people have never instigated hatred toward any people. Since the very beginning we have emphasized that we want good relations with all our neighbors, and also an improvement rather than a breakup of those relations in all fields. As for Greece, just remember that it is not the Macedonians who introduced the embargo or closed the borders.

[Correspondent] Macedonia was an underdeveloped country, the least viable of all the former Yugoslav republics, but still you have paid off all your debts to the international creditors, which has opened the door to your full membership of the IMF and to new loans. What is the current policy here, and what is the strategic policy of Macedonia?

[Gligorov] I am convinced that Macedonia must base its position on a final orientation to the market economy. All small countries, of which we are one, as well as all the Balkan states, must opt for open national economies if they want to prosper.

It is difficult to stick to that course without foreign financial aid, and therefore all our forces have been concentrated on how to eliminate the obstacles that had resulted from the unsettled international status of Macedonia. We managed to bring missions from international financial institutions to Macedonia even before we settled our status in those institutions. Thanks to this, a whole series of preparatory measures were completed, while certain projects were not taken into full consideration for formal reasons. Finally, we were not able to pay off the debts that we inherited from former Yugoslavia, as the regular method of indemnification would have delayed some other economic steps that we were planning, so we asked the creditors for understanding, and we did meet with understanding in terms of how to pay off our $100 million debt: The governments of certain countries first helped us, then the International Development Agency helped us with a loan under very favorable conditions, while the remaining $25 million was indemnified by the Soros Foundation, which also gave us a short-term loan under favorable conditions.

[Correspondent] We presume that you held the same attitude even at the time of the talks between the six presidents of the republics of former Yugoslavia. What was the reason for your failure to bring the other participants to their senses?

[Gligorov] That depended also on the will of all the participants, and no solution could possibly have been imposed. I think that a very important opportunity was missed at that time, one that some people underestimated, while others saw it as a trap. I am referring to the offer by the EC that Yugoslavia would be admitted to the EC as an associate member, if a peaceful solution to the crisis was found. The offer also anticipated $4.5 billion for a positive answer. However, there was either no readiness to accept the offer, or there was a lack of trust in it, or the choice had already been made in favor of the solutions that later brought about clashes. I still believe that a great opportunity was missed, one that would have enabled all of us to avoid everything that followed thereafter in the region.

[Correspondent] A Russian political delegation and a U.S. military delegation were in Skopje yesterday. Do you feel that you have been under pressure by both sides?

[Gligorov] Neither of those visits was intended to exert pressure on me. We talked with President Yeltsin's envoy Churkin primarily about future diplomatic and other relations, and particularly about economic cooperation between our two countries, something in which we are very interested. Second, Moscow is very much involved in finding a solution to the Bosnian crisis, and that was an opportunity to brief us on everything that has to do with the direct Russian involvement. We also wanted to learn more about some broader elements of Russian policy, its main principles, and what we can expect from it. Which is to say, it was a meeting of the representatives of two friendly countries, and it was a good opportunity for both delegations to become better informed and to make agreements on more dynamic cooperation, particularly in the field of economics.

The arrival of the U.S. Army delegation had to do primarily with a visit to the U.S. contingent. There were absolutely no pressures or demands to increase the number of their soldiers here, which is the subject of a lot of public speculation. It is always forgotten that the U.S. troops are part of UNPROFOR, while neither earlier nor now have there been bilateral demands that their troops be stationed in Macedonia. The story about Macedonia being a U.S. aircraft carrier on the ground is not realistic for serious reasons and also for banal ones, since our airport is hardly able to respond to the needs of civilian air traffic. Still, in view of the times that we are living in, I can understand all sorts of exaggerations and combinations, although they have nothing to do with reality; I understand all those who are constantly discovering what lies behind this or that.

[Correspondent] The reason for such calculations is that the retailoring of the political map of the Balkans is in progress.

[Gligorov] Macedonia has undoubtedly chosen the European option, but at the same time the presence of Russia is quite legitimate in the region. That is the reality, but in my opinion, the reality is also the ever greater interest of Russia in cooperation with Europe, the United States, and the entire world. There is no reason for such a partnership not to be present in the Balkans. There is no justification for sticking to the old formula that it is either Russia or the United States that dominates the region. All countries are interested in their own presence in the Balkans, and you can see that Japan is also setting its foot here—not only because it wants to confirm its economic power in global diplomacy as well, but also because there are increasingly fewer regions in the world that are attractive for international capital. In that respect the Balkans is attractive for anybody. I think that the time of looking at the Balkans through the prism of the Cold War and the division of the world into two superpowers is definitely over. Obviously, this is not particularly clear to everybody these days, but the sooner one understands that, the fewer traumas there will be and the more easily eliminated.

[Box, page 12]

[Correspondent] Because of the war and the international blockade of the FRY, the traffic on Morava and Vardar Rivers has almost died out. In the meantime, you have taken part in the opening of the road and railroad link Sofia-Skopje-Tirana-Drac. How far has the project gone, and what impact will it have on the old route?

[Gligorov] This West-East route neither replaces nor is supposed to diminish the importance of the old North-South route. For Macedonia and Greece that is the shortest way to Europe, as well as for Serbia to the south, and its value will be fully restored when the war ends. Still, why should we not make such a East-West link? Albania was isolated for a long time, whereas connections with Albania are an objective economic necessity for Macedonia. The current connections are almost vitally important. In addition, the exchange and communications with Bulgaria were quite limited. Macedonia is situated in the middle of the southern Balkans, has no direct access to the sea, while those two routes intersect in Macedonia. Hence the chance for a more rapid development of Macedonia. You see that the international community, in particular the European Union, is interested in developing the possibilities of those two connections.

[Box, page 13]

[Correspondent] The fears that the deadline given to the Bosnian Serbs by NATO might entangle Macedonia in some troubles are quite widespread. What do you think?

[Gligorov] These are certainly overreactions, but I think that the rapid deterioration of the conflict has raised the temperature not only in Macedonia, but also throughout the Balkans. Just look at the reactions from Albania, Bulgaria, and other countries. One has to take these into consideration, but let us hope that in the meantime reason will prevail, and that the negotiations on heavy weapons will start.

Serbia

Milosevic Hails Russian Involvement in Bosnia

LD2802190294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic this evening received Gennadiy Shikin, Russian Federation ambassador in Belgrade, who handed him a letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The letter deals with Russia's involvement, initiatives and role, as well as its efforts in solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Russia's involvement and its efforts to solve the crisis in the framework of the peace process is, President Milosevic believes, of great importance and can make a decisive contribution to reaching a lasting and just peace in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, a statement from the office of the president of the Republic of Serbia says.

New Oil Field Commences Production

AU0103105894 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 94 p 7

[Article by Dj.B. and M.P.: "The Richest Oil Field in Serbia"]

[Text] Turija, 25 Feb—Today's launching of regular production in the first phase of the "Turija North 1" oil field in the vicinity of Srbobran marks the 45th anniversary of the Serbian oil company "Naftagas."

The "Turija North 1" oil field is the largest of its kind discovered in Serbia over the past three decades. According to "Naftagas" manager Srboljub Stankovic, Turija and the eastern part of Srbobran literally stand on oil. The subterranean field, situated between two points at a depth of 2,000 meters is coated in a layer of oil 47 meters thick.

Some $60 million has so far been invested in the "Turija North 1" oil field. This year, another $32 million is needed for the second phase of construction, while the third phase—the construction of transportation systems and oil and gas pipelines calls for another $11 million.

Around 86,000 metric tons of oil were produced in this area last year. This year, the production of 120,000 tons of oil is planned.

Vladimir Zivanovic, republican minister for energy, was among the many guests who attended today's celebrations.

Kosovo

Serbian Army Deploying Tanks, Artillery

AU2802200994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Reports from Prishtina confirm that the Serbian Army continues its movements throughout Kosova. Some 200 Serbian soldiers, tanks, and other heavy artillery have been deployed in Kacanik city. Near Kacanik, at Hani i Elezit, a border point between Kosova and FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], the Serbian army killed another Albanian today—60-year-old Selman Pajazit Daci.

The Kosova Information Center reports that Selman Daci was killed by the Serbian soldiers on the Prishtina-Skopje road. Other details have not been announced so far.

There are reports of concentrations of the Serbian forces at a place called Cuka e Komoranit, near Gllogovc. A total of 13 tanks, dozens of military trucks, and other heavy artillery have been stationed there.

Large-Scale Army Movements

LD2802220494 Tehran IRNA in English 2146 GMT 28 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 28, IRNA—Soldiers of the Serbian Army shot dead a 60 year old Albanian Muslim, according to the Kosovo information centre Monday. Selman Daci was killed on the Kosovo side of the high road, about one mile from the border with The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the centre said.

The centre also reports large-scale troop movements this weekend by the Serbian-Montenegrin army in this southern province of the former Yugoslavia.

In a statement sent to IRNA, the centre said that dozens of units of the Serbian Army, including about 10 tanks and several long-range guns walked into a village near the Kosovo capital of Pristina last Friday, provoking the inhabitants. The units, the statement said, were stationed in nearby hills.

The same day, heavy army units moved out of a barracks in Prizren, near the Albanian border, while heavy weapons which had been positioned nearby, were moved closer to the town. Other units with 30-40 tanks and armoured vehicles moved to a village near Podujevo, just north of Pristina, the same source said.

On Sunday afternoon, some 13 tanks, a dozen military trucks and a large number of soldiers and officers were stationed near the village of Komoran and there was much movement by the army in several other places in Kosovo.

Following the abolition of the province's autonomy four years ago, Serbia keeps a large military and police presence to maintain repression in Kosovo, where the population is 90 per cent Albanian Muslim.